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KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

OB. 1547.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

[illegible] HON[BLE] THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

LETTERS

OF THE

KINGS OF ENGLAND,

NOW FIRST COLLECTED

From the Originals

IN ROYAL ARCHIVES, AND FROM OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES,

PRIVATE AS WELL AS PUBLIC.

EDITED,

WITH AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY

JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, ESQ., F.R.S.,

HON. M.R.I.A., HON. M.R.S.L., F.S.A., ETC.

FC

"Nothing is so capable of giving a true account of History as *Letters* are; which describe *actions* while they are *alive* and *breathing*, whereas all *other relations* are of actions *past* and *dead*."—DEAN SWIFT.

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VOL. I.

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TO

MISS AGNES STRICKLAND,

AUTHORESS OF THE LIVES OF THE QUEENS OF ENGLAND,

THESE VOLUMES

ARE INSCRIBED,

AS

A SLIGHT TESTIMONY

OF

ESTEEM AND RESPECT

FROM

HER SINCERE AND OBLIGED FRIEND,

THE EDITOR.

INTRODUCTION.

Although the leading facts of English History may be regarded as universally known, it must be acknowledged that an intimate acquaintance with the subject is by no means widely diffused; and, as it cannot be considered foreign to the purpose of a work of this nature to enter briefly into the probable causes of this deficiency, which appears somewhat paradoxical in an age when the progress of educational knowledge of every kind is boasted of as a proof of our gigantic advance in civilization, we may perhaps be permitted to preface a Collection of Letters of the Kings of England by a few general observations with reference to this point; not considering it in any way necessary to enlarge on the vast importance of the study which these volumes are intended to illustrate, nor to expatiate on the manner in which that object has been attempted to be accomplished.

The first and most obvious reason for the defect we have alluded to is undoubtedly to be sought for in our limited and confined system of public and University

education, which leads our Students to place greater importance on the deeds of Xerxes, or Alexander, than on those of later heroes, whose triumphs or reverses have been productive of more sensible effects on the constitution of society and nations in more recent times. A similar favour shown to remote antiquity renders the comparatively crude productions of Euripides subjects for careful and anxious study, while the sublime writings of the Bard of Avon are known only by reputation. Be it remembered, we do not seek to undervalue the importance of classical studies; but still we are at a loss to account for the neglect of a literature so far superior; when, too, that literature is vernacular, and endeared to us by lasting and pleasing recollections. Let us hope that a more liberal spirit will ere long be evinced in these matters; and that a disquisition on periods of our country's history will be deemed as legitimate an offering to real learning as an essay on the walls of Babylon, or an inquiry into the truth of the story of Romulus and Remus.

But this undue preference to learning connected with remote antiquity has not been the sole or even principal reason for the partial neglect of Anglo-historical studies. There are other and still more evident causes which must be looked for, not so much in the deficiency of proper encouragement, as in the manner in which our historic

documents have generally been presented to the public. It is scarcely necessary to observe that the general reader cannot reasonably be expected to possess sufficient zeal in the pursuit to conquer more than the most ordinary difficulties; and this fact our antiquaries seem for the most part to have been obstinately bent on either not admitting, or overlooking, as one inconsistent with the gravity of their avocation. They have told the public too plainly that there is no royal road to their science; and we are afraid unnecessary obstacles have been too frequently thrown in the way of the general dissemination of a knowledge of our records by men whose learning has enabled them to make most important additions to English history, but who have, nevertheless, been unwilling to impart them without a parade of learning sufficiently valuable in its way, and often necessary for professed students, but inevitably repulsive to the great body of English readers.

In other words, we might briefly assert that the presentation of documents in an antiquarian form precludes the hope of any extensive benefit being derived from their publication. Antiquaries may talk as they will, but the public will certainly not be readily persuaded to pore over antique spelling, or wade through a variety of antique-looking papers, for the sake of the few which are really interesting and valuable, or curious, when properly

read and explained. This labour must be performed ready to their hands, and it has been attempted in the following pages. The spelling throughout has been made conformable to modern usage; and, where the original of a letter has been found in Latin, French, Anglo-Norman, or in any other foreign language, it has been translated: we may therefore confidently state that every difficulty in the way of rendering these royal letters completely accessible to all readers has been overcome; and we feel sure that the deep interest of many of these documents, and the extreme curiosity of others, will fully compensate for the trouble and pains bestowed upon them.

In the preparation of this work for the public, we have had their convenience in constant view; and we are convinced that the method here adopted is the only one likely to render in any way popular a study which has hitherto been kept by technical prejudices almost a sealed science. Following the example of Miss Strickland, (as exhibited in her delightful work "The Lives of the Queens of England") who wisely considers it more important to preserve the sense than the spelling, we have not hesitated in reducing our collection in this respect to the present standard. Quaint antique phrases have been suffered to remain, because in many instances to remove or substitute equivalents for them would destroy the character of the original; and we believe few readers will be displeased with the genuine

naïveté frequently exhibited in this way. We have modernized, as far as we possibly could with safety, preserving intact the sense, character, and authenticity of the original documents. Further liberty than this, we feel, as editor, that we are not authorized to take with our country's records.

A few—a very few words may be necessary in defence of our plan of modernizing, for persons are not wanting who insist that the preservation of uncouth orthography (can it be called orthography?) is necessary for the right understanding of early documents. It may, therefore, be as well to state that there is nothing in English philology which renders the conservation of old spelling of the slightest importance in any books or manuscripts written after the time of Edward IV., or Henry VII. Before that period, in Chaucer's time for example, the omission of a final vowel in many instances would change the tense of a word, or neutralize the distinction between a preposition and an adverb; but in later times, and there are comparatively few historical papers written in English before that period, no such reasons exist for adhering to the barbarous spelling of our ancestors; and we feel no hesitation whatever in asserting that nothing, save antiquarian prejudice, is violated by printing manuscripts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in plain, readable, modern English. The philological

and minute accuracy that may be requisite and desirable in editing early works whose value chiefly consists in the illustrations they afford of the history and construction of our language, is a matter of far less importance in documents where the spirit and related facts are of primary consideration. Few would desire to read the works of Shakespeare, at least for recreation, in the uncouth orthography in which they were first printed; and why, therefore, should the public be reduced to the alternative of perusing the singular correspondence of the Poet's sovereign and patron in its original inconvenient form?

But we have, perhaps, already said too much on this subject, which, after all, will require little argument for the confirmation of our views with the majority of readers. The Utilitarian spirit of the age decides against that ancient race of antiquaries who would make a mountain of a trifling departure from an original paper, and at the same time be most nervously alive to the slightest ridicule of any favourite conjecture, however absurd, useless, or inconsistent with facts. Such men not infrequently made mighty preparations of learning in pursuit of worthless objects. Let us hope that we shall descend or ascend the stream by rational criteria, not by the minutiæ of antiquarianism; and that the race of whom we have just spoken may find no more followers, for they can in sooth only be compared to

Caligula, who alarmed the whole world by raising a mighty army, and then led it to gather cockle-shells.

Having thus endeavoured to explain that we have consulted the convenience of the general reader by the plan we have adopted in printing this extensive Collection of original documents, without in any way detracting from the integrity of history or of the manuscripts themselves, we will endeavour to give a slight review of the most prominent features which present themselves in the following volumes. Such a notice, of course, must necessarily be rapid and slight, for there are many more letters of interest and value than could be mentioned within the limits of an Introduction; but, at the same time, it may not be without its use to draw the reader's attention to some of the most important.

Our Collection commences with a few letters from the lion-hearted Richard I., the bravest monarch perhaps that ever sat on the throne of these realms. At so early a period, the correspondence of our sovereigns was not very extensive, and but few specimens have reached us. These, however, will be found characteristic and interesting. The king thus touchingly describes the state of the country after his return from the wars in Palestine—"At our very coming into the land we found darkness instead of light, the breath of mourning for the

song of exultation." But a letter to the Emperor of Germany, when he was prisoner in that country, is a singularly valuable specimen of his epistolary powers, and the indignant way in which he repudiates his alleged correspondence with Saladin will scarcely substantiate the view taken by the great northern novelist in his admirable romance of *The Talisman*: "The assassination of the Marquis of Montserrat is as foreign to my character as my presumed correspondence with Saladin is improbable. I have not evinced, hitherto, such a dread of my enemies as that men should believe me capable of attacking their lives otherwise than sword in hand; and I have done mischief enough to Saladin to compel men to think that I at least have not been his friend." He adds, "my actions speak for me, and justify my cause more than words;" and so they did, or rather ought to have done. If personal courage and valour were essential requisites to royalty in those stirring times, and no one will deny that they were, Richard stands foremost among our Norman sovereigns as the bravest of the brave. His inattention to the internal interests of the country, which led to such serious evils, especially during his sojourn in the East, was soon forgotten in the martial song of honour to the valorous dead, and we accordingly find that in the following century no tales of chivalry sung at feasts and revelries in the merry halls of the nobility, or even

those of the clergy, were in greater estimation than the long romance thus opened by the early poet:

Let us sing of king Richard,
That never was found coward!
Par foi, now I will you read
Of a king doughty in deed;
King Richard, the warrior best
That men find in any jest!

His deeds are recorded as having excelled those of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table; and the entire romance is filled with the most extravagant fictions. At Acre, he breaks a chain drawn across the harbour with his mace; when ill at that town, he longed for pork, which could not be procured, but he contents himself very complacently with a Saracen's head! With such matters a large volume is filled, but poor as the poem is, it may possibly have furnished some inconsiderable hints to Sir Walter Scott.

The few letters which follow comprise several reigns, but it is really a matter of so great difficulty to procure many specimens of kingly letters of so ancient a date that our readers must excuse us if their curiosity is somewhat unsatisfied. However, we can safely promise much more ample entertainment as we proceed... The epistles of that unfortunate monarch, Edward II., will be perused with painful interest. Flourishing at a period

unsuited to his peaceful disposition, and when there was no opportunity for the striking display of the really estimable traits in his character, we find him the victim of ungovernable parties, assisted by one of the most nefarious partners ever allotted to an English sovereign. The queen's flimsy and deceptive pretexts regarding the danger she professed to apprehend to her life are properly repudiated by her husband; and her connexion with Mortimer was not even palliated by any reciprocal causes on the part of Edward.

The correspondence of his successor Edward III. will be found especially interesting to those who wish to be acquainted with the history of our Church, and the gradual rise of that mighty revolution effected by Henry VIII. Then were scattered those seeds which afterwards produced so bitter a harvest; and it is not very difficult to see, from the general tenour of Edward's letters, that the obstinacy of the Papal interests was unfavourably regarded both by him and the people at large. Inquiry, rigid inquiry, was instituted, and it was found that the Papal claims would not bear close examination. The immense and undue influence of a foreign court in this country could not be viewed without alarm, even by the sincerest friends of the Church; and, when we see the Pope pertinaciously declining to make reasonable concessions on matters palpably advantageous to the nation—when,

too, those concessions were not to limit his authority to any dangerous extent—it is not a matter for much wonder that we find this period bring forward one of the noblest champions of religious liberty, in the person of John Wicliffe, the real founder of the Anglo-Protestant Church.

Proceeding in our hasty summary, we arrive at the compositions of Henry V., when Prince of Wales, the companion of Falstaff, the good-humoured "Hal," of the ever-famous Boar's Head, in Eastcheap. Alas! no records can we discover of the character immortalized by Shakespeare; no traces of the wild youth who only relinquished his sins and follies at the death-bed of his father. We here find him, at a very early age, exhibiting all the tact, skill, and decision, which contributed so largely to his brilliant success in after-life; nor must it be forgotten that in high principle and religious feeling he was greatly superior to most of his predecessors. A letter from the Prince, in keeping with the description given of him by Shakespeare, we cannot produce, nor do we imagine that such a document was ever in existence; but it must be remembered that our great dramatic poet was not himself responsible for this erroneous view of Henry's character, having drawn it from one of the inaccurate chronicles which were in his day the sole guides to our country's history.

If, however, we cannot substantiate the highly coloured

picture given of Prince Henry by these writers, we can hardly allow the excesses and devastations committed or connived at by him in his wars with the Welsh to pass without admitting that considerable wildness, and a disposition to excessive severity, were displayed in those transactions. In one letter he says, "Certain of our people sallied forth, and took a gentleman of high degree of that country, who was one of Owen Glendower's chieftains. This person offered five hundred pounds for his ransom to save his life, and to pay that sum within two weeks; nevertheless, that was not accepted, and he was put to death; and several of his companions, who were taken the same day, met with the same fate." Perhaps, however, this unnecessary severity may be attributed in a great measure to the custom of the times.

When Henry V. ascended the throne, we find him fulminating his royal decrees against "the new and pestiferous" sect of Lollards, or heretics, who appear at this period to have been rapidly increasing. Priests, of every denomination, convicted of expressing themselves in favour of the new doctrines, were ordered to be instantly arrested and imprisoned; and even those who ventured to attend the delivery of their discourses were liable to a similar punishment. Sir John Oldcastle, about this time, underwent

the penalty of "roasting," for indulging in the dissemination of these opinions. The reader will find a very curious letter for his apprehension in vol. i., p. 74.

Some very important historical letters connected with the occurrences of this reign, now for the first time published from the originals preserved in the Archives of the city of London, deserve careful attention. The epistolary address of Henry to his soldiers on the eve of the memorable battle of Agincourt may be noticed as a heart-stirring composition, one in which the enthusiasm of the chieftain is displayed in a true English style:— "So it is, my valiant Englishmen! We must either conquer or die, for victory or death is all the present prospect. Why should we fear death, or be doubtful of victory, since God, who guards our lives, has given us courage to defend them, and will strengthen us to conquer?"

The lengthened reign of his successor, Henry VI., comprises the history of an era too remarkable not to be well illustrated by the writings of the sovereign, and we accordingly find during this period several letters of deep interest. One of the first in this portion of the work contains a full account of the lamentable death of that extraordinary personage, the Maid of Orleans, whose sad fate cannot be remembered without pain. Following are missives, which exhibit Henry's anxiety to follow in the footsteps of his father, by sup-

pressing the Lollards, or at least using his best endeavours to do so, for the so-called heresy had taken too deep root to be easily extirpated by a Prince possessing so little energy and decision. If he failed in this, he did not neglect to exhibit his intolerable bigotry and cruel zeal in a far more serious manner, by burning whatever heretics fell in his way. Numerous are the documents extant, in which scores of souls are stated to have been prematurely hurried into eternity by Henry's superstitious edicts. We have selected one of these, hitherto unpublished, as a specimen of what was endured, and of what were even considered as righteous offerings to a just and merciful Creator in the "good old times." It will be found at p. 119, and will teach us to be thankful that we were not born four centuries ago. And this leads us to enter into a few brief observations on what old Sir Thomas Browne would rightly call a "popular error."

An attentive perusal of some of the letters of Henry VI. would of themselves, we imagine, be sufficient to dissipate the very favourite and common fallacy, that Old England was really Merry Old England, and that our ancestors lived in "good old times." There can be no illusion more palpable to any one tolerably acquainted with historical documents, than the belief that what are now called the "good old times" were, in point of fact, any better than those we live in. At all events, we

should be very sorry to exchange the era of quiet revolutions for the Wars of the Roses, the stake-stained Reformation, or the democratic excesses of the seventeenth century. Age may sanctify a good deal, but it cannot, or at least it ought not, to close our eyes to the real state of facts. Even what is called "the golden age of Elizabeth" was really and truly a period in which atrocities were daily committed against the liberties of the subject, who was not sufficiently protected from the government, and left too often at the mercy of its corrupt minions. It is pretty to write of the painted maypole and the "quaint mazes in the wanton green," which constituted the chief advantages of our ancestors over the men of this generation; but there were not wanting serious evils to counterbalance them. A few days since, a reverend writer told the public, through the medium of "The Times" newspaper, that he sighed for the days

> When merry went the click-clack,
> The shuttle and the plough;
> And the honest man could live
> By the sweat of his brow.

One would really imagine, from all this, that our ancestors lived in a constant state of merriment and excitement; that all they had to do was to sing over the shuttle or the plough for a few hours every day, to enable them to

live in perfect contentment and happiness. The facts are sadly different. Wretched as a considerable portion of the poor undoubtedly are at the present time, their condition is still infinitely superior to what it was in days of yore; and we would fain know the precise period assigned to the domination of the "good old times." Is it the fifteenth century, when the land was deluged with "her children's blood?" Or is it the eighteenth century, when the distance between Hounslow and London was a perilous journey? Any intermediate period we are sure it cannot be.

But we are wandering from our purpose. The fourth Edward now comes on the scene, and demands our attention, although we fear little can be said in his favour. If he gains in comparison with his mild predecessor, it must be attributed to the total want in the latter of all those qualities that were not only advantageous, but absolutely necessary to establish a rule in those turbulent ages. Luxurious, vindictive, and cruel, he had not the talent and energy to counterbalance the effects of his vices, to the indulgence of which may probably be attributed his premature decease. There are several curious documents connected with the history of this period, but we think none of more interest than the quaint code of instructions delivered by Edward IV. to Lord Rivers and the Bishop of Rochester for the edu-

cation and behaviour of the Prince of Wales (p. 136). We have his life by day and his life by night; the minutest particulars are described, with a *naïveté* equally amusing, and illustrative of the manners of the time; and these instructions can be safely recommended as the most curious record known to exist of a prince's domestic establishment in the fifteenth century.

The few letters preserved of Richard III. will be found by no means devoid of interest, but we must not fall into the error of forming an estimate of his character from them. He seems to have been as hypocritical as wicked, and we cannot but stigmatize the attempts which have been made by recent writers to vindicate him from crime as inconclusive, mawkish endeavours to alter the appearance of a very dark-stained page of history. His extreme unpopularity is curiously illustrated by a letter at p. 158; and perhaps this may have tended in some little degree to account for the bad portraits of him given by contemporary writers. At the same time, the weight of evidence against him is far too powerful for any tangible defence. Henry's language on the eve of the battle of Bosworth does not appear to have been overdrawn:—"Behold yonder Richard, who is both Tarquin and Nero! yea, a tyrant more than Nero, for he hath not only murdered his nephew, being his king and sovereign lord, bastarded his noble brethren,

and defamed his virtuous and womanly mother, but also compassed all the means and ways that he could invent how to stuprate his own niece, under the pretence of a cloaked matrimony: which lady I have sworn and promised to take to my mate and wife."

The important epistles illustrating the singular and extraordinary career of Perkin Warbeck deserve especial note, as most valuable historical documents; but the other letters of Henry VII., although well worthy of perusal, call for little observation. One (p. 185) may be cited, as exhibiting in a remarkable manner Henry's well-known talent for negotiation.

With regard to the reign of his successor, the bluff King Harry the Eighth, we should undoubtedly disappoint the expectations of most readers, had we not the means of promising a plentiful entertainment. But we believe no deficiency whatever will be complained of, special pains having been taken to illustrate that most interesting period, as far as practicable, by all the best letters of the Defender of the Faith. These are so numerous, that we can in this place only give a general glance at their nature. His love-letters to Anne Boleyn will, perhaps, scarcely require a notice to attract the reader's attention to them; but we cannot refrain from stating that we have had the satisfaction of placing them before the English public, for the first time, in a com-

plete form. They exhibit the almost ungovernable violence of the king's passion for Anne, and may be regarded as, perhaps, the most singular documents of the kind that have descended to our times. Henry's passion completely overcame his prudence, or these records of it would never have been entrusted to woman. It appears from one of them, that he was sensibly affected by the fact that their courtship had become in some measure known. What would have been his feelings, could he have foreseen that his character would be completely exposed to the view of future generations by their preservation?

It was during this loving correspondence between Henry and Anne that the fears of the former were aroused by a singular disease which rapidly became prevalent in the metropolis, and was known as the "sweating sickness." It had visited London in the previous reign, but now its diffusion was more sudden and rapid, and Anne Boleyn had a narrow escape from its ravages. The manner of treating it, however, was better known. The patient, when attacked by the first symptoms, sickness and headache, was immediately put to bed; perspiration followed, and, if the process continued for twenty-four hours, the danger was over. The exposure of any part of the body to the cold air during that time was fatal. The malady is thus quaintly described by

a foreigner who was then in London.—"The king is left all alone, keeping himself close. At the legate's they are playing the same game; but, when all is said, those who do not expose themselves to the air rarely die; so that out of more than forty-five thousand who have been attacked in London, not two thousand have died, whatever people may say. It is true that, if you merely put your hand out of bed during the twenty-four hours, you instantly become stiff as a peacock!"

The letters bearing on the rise and progress of the Reformation will be found of paramount value and importance; but there is little necessity for preliminary annotation, this portion of our history being familiar to most readers. The facility with which Henry changed his opinions to accommodate them to the accomplishment of his views; the arrogance with which he assumed infallibility in those changes; and the unscrupulous means employed to obtain his desires are here amply exhibited. If the king's errors were partially the proximate causes of the most beneficial revolution ever effected in these realms, we have no right to question the inscrutable designs of Providence, or the manner in which we have received so great a blessing.

It is curious to find the quondam defender of the Roman Catholic faith thus expressing himself of that

Church,—"It has come to our knowledge that sundry persons, as well religious as secular priests, and curates in their parishes, and other places of this our realm, do daily as much as in them is set forth and extol the juris diction and authority of the Bishop of Rome, *otherwise called the Pope*, sowing their seditious false doctrine, and pestilent deceits with relics, praying for him in the pulpit and making of him a God, to the great deceit, illuding, and seducing of our people and subjects, bringing them into error, sedition, and evil opinions, more preferring the said laws, jurisdiction, and authority of the said Bishop of Rome than the most holy laws and precepts of Almighty God." (p. 361.) The following passage in another very able letter might be repeated with advantage at the present day—"As we have abrogated all old Popish traditions in this our realm, which either did help his tyranny or increase his pride; so, if the grace of God forsake us not, we will well foresee that no new naughty traditions be made with our consent to bind us or our realm."

A precocious youth, who gravely presided at the royal council-table at the age of twelve, and sedately delivered his sentiments with all the ostentation of superior ability, next claims our attention in the person of Edward VI. It would be obviously unfair to form an estimate of his character, for he was lost to the nation before he had

arrived at maturity; but contemporary writers speak of him in the highest terms; and, making all allowance for prejudiced and partial opinions, it must be admitted that he exhibited signs of sterling talent and merit at a very tender age. At the commencement of our second volume will be found a complete series of this youth's letters, which are very interesting specimens of composition. The originals are for the most part in Latin, and some of them are truly pedantic. To his sister Mary he thus writes—"My love towards you, and brotherly feeling and nature too, induced me to write to you, dearest sister; and this love can in no way be erased from my mind; and even if you were not my sister, I yet must love you, and indite letters to you for your eminent virtue; for virtue is the loadstone of love, and shall never perish, but all other quickly come to naught." This is a fair specimen of the Prince's ordinary and familiar style of writing, but in many cases we should be rather inclined to believe we were perusing letters of advice from gray-headed preceptor than from the pupil. It has been, indeed, asserted that the young Prince received special instructions from his tutors in the composition of these letters, but this cannot be true in all cases, for he occasionally mentions having written them without any assistance. In some, no doubt, he received a few hints for his guidance.

Passing over the reigns of two female sovereigns, the Letters of the Kings continue with some specimens of the Correspondence of James I. before he ascended the throne of England. An interesting account of this monarch is given in an unpublished manuscript,[1] written in 1586 by a spy of Queen Elizabeth — "Generally he seemeth desirous of peace, as appeareth by his disposition and exercises, viz., first, his great delight in hunting; secondly, his private delight in inditing poesies, and in one or both of these he commonly spendeth the day, when he hath no public thing to do; thirdly, his desire to withdraw himself from places of most access and company to places of more solitude and repose with a very small retinue;[2] fourthly, his readiness to compose matters that might trouble his peace, though with some disadvantage. In religion he is soundly affected, as may be presumed from these reasons; first, his hearing the

[1] Preserved among the Middlehill MSS.

[2] The king's aversion to public crowds is well known, and some have conjectured that Shakespeare alludes to this feature in his character in one of his plays:—

> ——— I love the people,
> But do not like to stage me to their eyes:
> Though it do well, I do not relish well
> Their loud applause, and aves vehement:
> Nor do I think the man of safe discretion
> That does affect it.

word of God almost daily, viz., on Sundays, forenoons and afternoons, on Wednesdays and Fridays in the forenoon, besides a chapter read and sound exposition after every meal. Secondly, his promptness in the Scriptures, wherein he is thought to be as ready as any man within his realm. Thirdly, his care to give good example by repairing to the ordinary sermons in Edinburgh Church. Fourthly, his often denying Popery in his common discourse, and denying Mass to the French Ambassador. Fifthly, his life and conversation, which though it be touched somewhat with the common faults of the country, viz., with swearing, whereof a special cause is the want of sound company about him, yet he keepeth it in good order, and, as a young prince, is of a staid behaviour, void of licentious and notorious faults, showing good signs of modesty, as blushing sometime when he speaketh in presence; and the report is of those who are nearest about him, very chaste, and yet desirous of marriage." This very curious and valuable account of James was taken when he was only in his twentieth year, and will be perused with interest.

At a later period, and a little further advanced in the Collection, we have some very curious documents, most of them hitherto unpublished and unknown, connected with many obscure matters relating to the Overbury trials. *The* secret, *par excellence*, is not made manifest,

and a search after it would be as useless as an inquiry into the Authorship of the Letters of Junius;[1] but here are laid before the reader most singular documents, proving beyond a doubt that James was implicated in it in some extraordinary and unpleasant way. The letters to Sir George More complete a most interesting series of papers on this mysterious affair. If the cloud which hangs over this matter, notwithstanding the continued efforts of historians to enlighten it, can be dissipated, we shall gladly welcome a solution, which we freely confess our own inability to furnish.

In the year 1623, the people were astonished and alarmed by a proceeding almost unexampled in history. Without any previous intimation, though apparently with the privity of the King, Prince Charles and Buckingham disguised themselves and travelled from London to Madrid, under the assumed names of John and Thomas Smith. The fact was that Babie Charles and the Dog Steenie did pretty well as they pleased with "the wisest fool in Christendom." They not only obtained his consent to this romantic project, and made him conceal all knowledge of their movements from his Council, but actually extracted from him a promise in writing to ratify what-

[1] Since writing the above, it has been whispered to us that the Letters and Papers of Sir Philip Francis, announced for immediate publication by Mr. Colburn, will solve this great literary problem.

ever they might agree upon with the Spanish minister. In England, these occurrences were looked upon with distrust and dissatisfaction. Bonfires dimly burned and bells rang but sorry peals, for the heart of the nation was not with these rejoicings, ordered and enforced as they were by royal command. It is believed that the singular transactions of this year have never been so fully illustrated as they are by the numerous documents printed in the following pages—little, however, to the credit of the sovereign; for the puerile folly and simplicity of James are exhibited in the strongest light, and it will be a marvel to us if any one, after the perusal of this correspondence, can ascribe to him those qualities of wisdom and prudence with which some would fain invest him. Only imagine a letter from a sovereign (vol. ii. p, 235) to his prime-minister, commencing thus: "My own sweet and dear child, blessing, blessing, blessing on thy heart-roots and all thine." Were not the originals of this and similar letters in existence, and their authenticity entirely beyond a doubt, one could scarcely believe that a royal and learned author would have been so preposterously silly.

As a sequel to these, we have inserted a very curious collection of original letters from the Duke and Duchess of Buckingham to the King from Manuscripts preserved in the Advocates' Library, at Edinburgh. They are

written in a very similar extra-familiar style, and will be found to be excessively curious. We regret to add that, in some instances, the extreme grossness of the originals has compelled us to make a few inconsiderable omissions. This fact does not say much for either the morality of James or for that of his omnipotent favourite; the former must have sanctioned it, or Buckingham would not have disgraced his letters in that way. Moreover, several of James's epistles are open to exactly the same objection. From a letter at p. 249 it will be seen that the Duchess did not venture to wean a child without considering it necessary to acquaint his Majesty of her intention in the first instance!

Without expressing an opinion on the culpability of James in crimes hinted at by Sir Walter Scott and other writers, we cannot but admit that his correspondence, taken as a whole, leaves very unfavourable impressions. If we take a lenient view of his case, we must necessarily accuse him of the most lamentable deficiency of common prudence; but this we fear was not his only fault. However that may be, many of his letters are deeply interesting, and perhaps we can excuse something for the entertainment they afford. We can readily believe him to have been more silly than wicked; more of a coward than a hypocrite.

With respect to the remaining portion of our Collec-

tion, we find so much that is generally interesting, and so little that calls for special observation in this place, relating chiefly to those prominent matters of history known to the intelligent reader, that we feel disposed to follow the example of a learned scientific lecturer on the steam-engine, who set in motion a model of one on his table, and told his auditors that was the best lecture any one could give on the subject. We can, in truth, safely refer to our text as the best evidence of the truth of our assertion respecting the interest of its materials. The reign of Charles I. and the stirring period of the Civil Wars which terminated in the destruction of that ill-fated monarch by the Republican Party, are redolent with documents that have, to use the words of an able writer in the Times newspaper, "all the fascination of romance combined with the truth of history." The letters of Charles I., and indeed all his letters from 1642 to 1648, furnish to themselves the ablest commentary.

To those who are in any way acquainted with the difficulties to be encountered in laying bare the concealed treasures of our historical mines—with the way in which the materials lie scattered, and the very inefficient information afforded by brief and inaccurate catalogues, it will occasion no surprise to be informed that it has taken several years to bring together the materials of which these volumes are composed. It should be stated that

vast quantities of transcripts have been procured of which little or no use has been made, for it was not thought sufficient to present the reader with a bare collection of kingly letters, and rest satisfied with having fulfilled the conditions of our title-page; but neither pains nor expense have been spared to furnish the best and most generally interesting letters of those which have been saved for modern times, and a rigid and careful selection has been made out of an enormous mass of material. Many, doubtless, have been omitted which would have had great interest for the antiquarian student, but we have only again to repeat that we have had the convenience of *the general reader* in sole and constant view. To show the extensive ground over which our inquiries have reached we have merely to mention the following repositories of ancient MSS., from all of which our collection contains specimens:—

The British Museum.
The Bodleian Library, Oxford.
The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
Strawberry Hill MSS. (lately dispersed).
Archives of the Heriot Schools, Edinburgh.
University Library, Edinburgh.
Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.
Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
St. John's College, Cambridge.
Lambeth Palace Library.
MSS. in the Registrar's Office, Worcester.

Library of the Society of Antiquaries.
Archives of Oriel College, Oxford.
MSS. in the Heralds' College, London.
Vatican Library, Rome.
Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris.
The Mordaunt Family Papers.
Archives of Sir H. Bedingfield, Bart.
The State Paper Office.
Archives of the Cities of York and Carlisle.
Chapter House Record Office.
Archives of the City of London.
Archives of the City of Durham.
The Record Office, Tower of London.
The Rolls' House, Chancery Lane.
The Office of the Duchy of Lancaster.
The Archives at Hatfield House.

It is almost unnecessary to add that during these inquiries we have been deeply indebted to several of the keepers or owners of these distinguished Collections. Our thanks are especially due to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury for the readiness with which the treasures of Lambeth Palace Library have been opened for our use, and it will be seen that some of the most important documents in this work have been derived from that source; to his Grace the Duke of Rutland and Lord John Manners, M.P., for their polite attention to inquiries relating to the valuable MSS. in his Grace's Archives; to T. Duffus Hardy, Esq., Keeper of the Records of the Tower; to William Henry Black, Esq.,

Keeper of the Records at the Rolls' House; to Miss Strickland; to the late Lord Mayor of London, Mr. Alderman Gibbs; to Mr. Serjeant Merewether, and J. Frith, Esq., Chief Clerk of the Archives at Guildhall, for their assistance in enabling us to procure copies of the most interesting unpublished documents from the City Archives; to W. D. Bruce, Esq., F.S.A. for the communication of several royal letters preserved in his valuable library; to Sir Charles Young, Garter King of Arms, for aiding our researches in the Heralds' College; to Nicholas Carlisle, Esq., K.H., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries; and to Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., for inquiries and researches among the Archives at Paris. Had it not been for the general and continual kindness we have met with in forming this Collection, we could not safely have said so much in favour of our materials. But, conscious of having engaged unwearied exertion and peculiar advantages in our undertaking, we may conclude these introductory observations by expressing our belief that no one who desires to make himself easily and pleasantly acquainted with English History can adopt a readier method than carefully perusing the periodical accounts of the nation's progress furnished by our Sovereigns themselves in the Letters of the Kings of England.

Islip, April, 1846. J. O. HALLIWELL.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

	A.D.	Page
Richard I. to pope Clement		1
Letter of Richard I.	1190	5
Richard I. to the emperor of Germany, Henry V., when he was the emperor's prisoner	1196	7
King John to William Picolf	1200	10
Mandate of Henry III. concerning the heart of his father	1235	10
Henry III. to Louis IX. of France	1242	11
Henry III. to the Justiciary of Ireland	1242	13
Henry III. to the prior of the hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem, at Paris	1253	14
Edward I. to Philip III. of France	1276	15
Letter of Edward I.	1277	17
Edward I. to Philip III. of France	1279	18
Edward I. to the magistrates of the isle of Oleron	1292	19
Letter of prince Edward, son of Edward I.	1299	20
Edward I. to the archbishop of Auch	1299	22
Edward I. to Robert the Bruce	1304	22
Edward II. to his treasurer	1321	23
Edward II. to Richard de Burgh	1322	24
Edward II. to Charles le Bel, king of France	1325	25
Edward II. to his consort, Isabella of France, sister to Charles le Bel, king of France	1325	27
Edward II. to his son, Edward prince of Wales	1325	29

	A.D.	Page
Edward II. to his son, prince Edward	1326	30
Edward II. to Charles le Bel, king of France	1326	32
The same to the same	1326	34
Edward II. to his son, Edward prince of Wales	1326	35
Edward III. to some naval commander	1332	37
Edward III. to the abbot of Reading	1338	38
Edward III. to the bishops		39
Edward III. to the English clergy	1340	44
Edward III. to Philip earl of Valois	1340	47
Edward III. to the Pontiff		49
Richard II. to each of his peers	1394	50
Richard II. to the duke of York, Custos of England, and to the Privy Council	1395	51
Henry IV. His renewal of the letters patent granted by Richard II. to Geoffrey Chaucer	1399	53
Henry IV. to the lords of the council	1400	54
The king to the mayor and sheriffs of London	1401	56
Henry IV. to the council	1401	58
Henry IV. to his privy council	1402	61
Henry prince of Wales to the count of Monte Alegre		62
The prince of Wales to his father	1404	64
Henry prince of Wales to his father	1405	66
Prince Henry to his father, Henry IV.	1405	68
The prince of Wales to the council		70
The king Henry V. to the mayor and sheriffs of London	1413	72
Henry V. to the sheriff of Kent	1414	74
Henry V. to the king of France	1414	77
Henry V. to the French king	1414	78
Henry V. to the dauphin of France	1415	80
Henry V. to the mayor and aldermen of London	1415	83
Letter of proclamation of Henry V. to his soldiers before the battle of Agincourt	1415	85
Henry V. to the mayor and aldermen of the city of London	1418	88
Henry V. to the mayor, aldermen, and commons of London	1419	90
Henry V. to his chancellor	1419	91
Part of a letter of king Henry V.	1419	92
Henry V. to Charles king of France	1420	93
Henry V. to Charles king of France	1420	96

	A.D.	Page
Henry V. to the duke of Gloucester	1420	99
The same to his viscounts of London	1420	100
Henry V. to his chancellor	1420	102
Henry V. to the mayor and aldermen of the city of London		103
Henry V. to the bishops and lords of his council	1422	105
Henry VI. to the citizens of Ghent	1429	106
Henry VI. to Robert Rolleston	1429	107
Henry VI. to the duke of Burgundy	1431	108
King Henry VI. to the abbot of St. Edmondsbury, and to the aldermen and bailiffs of the town for the suppression of the Lollards		114
King Henry VI. to the abbot of St. Edmondsbury and to the aldermen and bailiffs of the town for the suppression of the Lollards		115
Henry VI. His mandate for the burning of a heretic, John Bismire, alias John Chandyrer	1438	119
Henry VI. to the abbess and convent of Wylton	1445	120
Edward the Fourth, when earl of March, and his brother, the earl of Rutland, to their father, Richard duke of York		121
Letter of king Edward IV.	1461	123
Edward IV. to the king of Scots	1461	125
Edward IV. to Thomas Cooke, alderman of London	1462	126
Edward IV. to his chancellor	1463	130
Edward IV. to John Paston, Esq.	1464	131
Edward IV. to the duke of Clarence	1470	135
Letters of Instructions from king Edward IV. to the earl of Rivers, and John Russell, bishop of Rochester, for the education of his son Edward, prince of Wales	1473	136
Edward IV. to the mayor and aldermen of London	1475	144
Edward IV. to Dr. Alexander Legh, his almoner and ambassador in Scotland	1477	147
Edward IV. to the notable and eminent men, administrators of the law and justice in the town of Dunkirk, our right beloved friends	1477	148
The duke of Gloucester, lord protector, (Richard III.) to John Newton, mayor of York; delivered by Richard Ratcliffe, knight	1483	150
Richard III. to the noble and well-born brother, Leonard de Prato, knight of Jerusalem and commissioner of that religious body, to England and Ireland	1483	151
Richard III. to Piers Courteis, keeper of his wardrobe	1483	152

	A.D.	Page
Richard III. to the bishops		153
Richard III. to the corporation of York	1483	155
Richard III. to sir John Mordaunt and William Salisbury	1484	156
Richard III. to the mayor and his brethren of the city of York	1484	158
Richard III. to his chancellor, the bishop of Lincoln		160
Henry, earl of Richmond, before he was king, to his friends in England	1485	161
Richard III. to the chieftains of his army, before the battle of Bosworth Field	1485	162
Henry Earl of Richmond (Henry VII.) His proclamation to his army, on the eve of the battle of Bosworth Field	1485	164
Circular letter of Henry VII. after the battle of Bosworth Field	1485	169
Henry VII. to the earl of Ormond	1487	171
Henry VII. to sir Gilbert Talbot	1493	172
Henry VII. to the mayor and citizens of Waterford, concerning Perkin Warbeck	1497	174
From the same to the same	1497	175
Henry VII. to sir Gilbert Talbot	1497	179
Henry VII. to his mother, Margaret, countess of Richmond		180
Henry VII. to the bishop of Bath and Wells	1497	183
The contents of the king's letters sent by his grace to the pope's holiness, concerning provision to be made to resist the malicious disposition of the great Turk, enemy to the christian faith	1502	185
Henry VII. to the lord mayor and aldermen of London	1507	194
Henry VIII. to Ferdinand II. of Arragon	1509	196
Henry VIII. to the emperor Maximilian, soliciting his co-operation and assistance against the pope's enemies	1512	199
A letter sent to sir David Owen by king Henry VIII.	1513	202
Henry VIII. to cardinal Remus	1513	204
Henry VIII. to the dean of Windsor	1513	213
Henry VIII. to James IV. of Scotland	1513	216
Henry VIII. to lord Darcy	1514	220
Henry VIII. to the marquis of Mantua	1514	223
Henry VIII. to pope Leo	1514	225
Henry VIII. to the marquis of Mantua	1514	229
Henry VIII. to the French minister	1515	230

	A.D.	Page
Henry VIII. His brief, or letters-patent for a charitable contribution for the relief of christian captives in Barbary	1515	232
King Henry VIII. to cardinal Wolsey	1515	234
Henry VIII. to the bishop of Worcester	1517	235
Henry VIII. to an Irish chieftain	1520	244
Henry VIII. to the lord lieutenant and council of Ireland	1520	248
Henry VIII. to Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, governor of Ireland		255
Henry VIII. to sir A. Fortescue	1520	265
Henry VIII. to the estates of Scotland	1521	267
Henry VIII. to the duke of Albany	1522	271
Henry VIII. to the mayor of Carlisle	1523	273
Henry VIII. to queen Margaret		275
Henry VIII. to the earl of Surrey	1523	277
Henry VIII. to the earl of Surrey	1523	282
Henry VIII. to cardinal Wolsey		285
Henry VIII. to cardinal Cibo	1527	286
Henry VIII. to the pope Clement VII.	1528	289
Henry VIII. to the pope, thanking him for his ready attention to the king's suit—the divorce	1528	293

LOVE-LETTERS OF HENRY VIII.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn	302
Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn	303
Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn	304
Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn	305
Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn	306
Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn	308
Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn	308
Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn	309
Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn	309
Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn	310
Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn	311
Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn	312
Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn	313
Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn	317
Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn	317

	A.D.	Page
Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn		318
Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn		319
Anne Boleyn to cardinal Wolsey	1528	321
Postscript by king Henry	1528	322
Henry VIII. to his ambassadors of Rome	1529	322
Henry VIII. to James V. of Scotland	1532	326
Henry VIII. to his ambassador at the court of Charles V. to certify the emperor of the honourable usage done to the lady Catherine, and her daughter Mary; and to declare to him the just causes of the separation from the lady dowager, and to show him the copy of the new acts of parliament. He repels the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome	1534	331
Private letter of the king to the treasurer of Ireland	1535	339
Henry VIII. to the judges, touching his renunciation of the pope's authority, and his own assumption of the title of supreme head of the church	1535	341
Henry VIII. to Mrs. Coward, widow, of Southampton		346
Henry VIII. to the commons of Ireland	1535	348
Henry VIII. to Dr. Peter Ligham		349
Henry VIII. to the lord Cromwell	1536	350
Henry VIII. to lady Bedingfield	1536	352
Henry VIII. to Jane Seymour	1536	353
Henry VIII. to some justice of peace		354
Henry VIII. to some of the bishops	1536	354
Henry VIII. to lord Mordaunt		359
Henry VIII. to lord Mordaunt		361
Henry VIII. to the bishop of Durham		363
Henry VIII. to sir Thomas Wyat	1538	367
An epistle of the most mighty and redoubted prince Henry VIII. by the grace of God, king of England, &c. next under Christ, written to the emperor's majesty, to all Christian princes, and to all those that truly and sincerely profess Christ's religion	1538	369
Henry VIII. to sir Thomas Wyat	1539	379
Henry VIII. to James V. of Scotland	1542	385
Henry VIII. to the earl of Angus	1543	387
Henry VIII. to the earl of Arran	1543	389
Henry VIII. to lord Wharton	1544	391

	A.D.	Page
Henry VIII. to the lords Maxwell and Fleming .	1544	393
Fragment of a letter from Henry VIII. to his queen Katharine Parr	1544	394

ADDITIONAL LETTERS.

Edward III. to Thomas de Lucy . . .	1346	396
Edward, the black prince, to the bishop of Worcester and others; giving an account of the battle of Poictiers .	1356	402

ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOL. I.

HENRY THE EIGHTH—From the original of HOLBEIN, in the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of EGREMONT—*Frontispiece.*

VOL. II.

CHARLES THE FIRST—From the original of VANDYKE, in the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of PEMBROKE—*Frontispiece.*

LETTERS

OF

THE KINGS OF ENGLAND.

Richard I. to Pope Clement.[1]

When the Venerable Father Archbishop of Canterbury was on the eve of setting forth on his journey to the Apostolic See, and had just obtained from us license, that very sorrowful rumour surprised us, of the devastation of the land of Jerusalem. This rumour hath smitten our heart with bitterness in such wise that we cannot describe, and hath armed with the standard of the cross both ourself and our first-born son, and many others of

[1] Harl. MSS., 788, f. 93, 94, and 95. Translated from the Latin. It is scarcely necessary to observe that the reader must not expect to find specimens of private and familiar correspondence at so early a period as the twelfth century. In fact, the difficulties which the limited progress of learning interposed in letter-writing in those early times precluded the interchange of views which was common four centuries later. The first we have selected is, however, an interesting composition, written with very considerable power and talent, and is a curious memorial of one of the most celebrated sovereigns that ever graced the throne of England.

the most noble of our country, in order to the succour and relief of that land. Therefore, while we are in the deliberation of so great a matter, and are plunged into so great grief, we cannot by any means, for some time, dispense with the presence of the aforesaid archbishop, whose sanctity and wisdom (being with us) will, by the grace of God, more effectually serve in conducting our affairs. However, lest that be to him a prejudice, which ought to purchase your Holiness's thanks, whose kindness we long since are assured of by experience, we offer our most earnest prayers possible, with all devotion, that this labour which he hath sustained on our account, for the glory of Christ and the exaltation of Christ's name, may plead his ample excuse; for he ought to deserve your favour on this account the more, the more he inspires into us and others the spirit of courage; lest (which God avert!) with the standard of the Faith, the Faith itself also be trodden under foot.

It is not, however, sufficient for us that he find excuse with your Holiness, whom the necessity of the times and the nature of the Faith doth excuse; but with our whole bowels we supplicate you in his behalf, that the clamour of the monks of Canterbury against him may not prevail; who, we are assured, are striving not for justice and truth, but, armed with malice and malignity alone, they are striving not only to displace the Archbishop, but to embroil the whole kingdom: for, concerning the building of the church in honour of the blessed martyrs, Stephen and Thomas, the resolution is known to have been made by him, with the counsel and assent of the

Roman Pontiff; and we, after inspection of the letters of the Lord Pope, find that it was so made, not suddenly or rashly, but by the advice of bishops and barons of our whole kingdom. The resolution of the said Archbishop we have approved, and have encouraged the work to be done. That place, therefore, which we wish and have sanctioned to be built in honour of the martyrs, which we have even begun with our own hand, do thou regard with benignant eye, and, for the love of God and of ourself, bestow on it the favour of your blessing and sanction; because it would turn to our shame and confusion, nor could it be without grievous trouble and disquietude to our whole kingdom, that a work so solemnly begun and sanctioned should be countermanded and abandoned.

Moreover, we pray you, in no wise to listen, if it please you, to the monks of Canterbury, contrary to the laws of honour of our kingdom, but repudiate their insolence, and conserve the church of Canterbury in the state of its wonted liberty more earnestly, as it is known to have existed even to our time and that of our bishops, even unto the time of the said Archbishop. For we can by no means endure that what has been established of old, and preserved even to our times, should in any degree be changed, to the prejudice of our dignity; for we would sooner resign the crown than suffer the monks to obtain anything contrary to the Archbishop's dignity and interest, which could not have been obtained in the times of our predecessors.

Further, although the monks have hitherto done many things contrary to the dignity of our kingdom and the

rights of the Archbishop, and the greater the impunity the greater has been their licentiousness; nevertheless, we have endured all, that we might be able to restore peace to the church of Canterbury. But now the frenzy of the monks hath burst forth with such violence, and so fiercely is their pride kindled against ourself, that they have suddenly, by their own authority alone, laid under interdict that church which is the head, and crown, and glory of our kingdom; their archbishop being present, and not appealed to, and I myself and all officials not being made acquainted therewith: yea, they have put down the altars; they have stayed the ringing of the bells; they have shut out all reverence for and memory of the blessed martyr, Thomas; they have utterly profanated a place set apart for devotion and prayer. When, therefore, we had taken the sign of the cross, and were willed to enter into our kingdom, at our very coming into the land we found darkness instead of light, the breath of mourning for the song of exultation. This, moreover, we cannot say without grief, because, at this time especially, our kingdom ought to rejoice with us, when we, bearing the standard of the Cross, wish to vindicate the wrongs of the Cross. And for this we may thank the monks of Canterbury. Nor any longer can we endure it; nay, we will more resolutely lay on them the hands of our royal severity, unless the wisdom of the Apostolic See stand in the gap, to crush the haughtiness of these monks, and by its equitable decision restore peace and his rights to the Archbishop, a man of simplicity, piety, and discretion. He himself desires and promises to abide

by the counsel of all the bishops, abbots, religious men, and barons of our kingdom; but the monks, who love strifes and contentions, that they may run loose with greater licentiousness, deny him all obedience; and his benediction they despise; his malediction they disregard.

Therefore, most holy father, punish more speedily this dissoluteness and depravity, and by no means deign to give ear to that prior, who, without our knowledge, hath gone out of our kingdom, and is said to have been now a year sojourning at Rome, and hath carried with him the treasures of the church of Canterbury, and hath spent them (as is said) otherwise than becometh the sacredness of his office. Deign not to grant him any favour prejudicial to ourself or the Archbishop, because our whole kingdom is disturbed by this dispute; nor could we carry with pleasure the Cross of the Lord, which we have taken, if we should leave behind among the highest of the kingdom matter for so great dissension, and the fuel for such dangerous schism: nay, (we say it unwillingly) we cannot endure to leave the land in such bitterness of confusion and in such religious prostration.

Letter of Richard I.[1] *A.D.* 1190.

Richard, by the grace of God, King of England, Duke of Normandy, of Aquitaine, and Angiers, to the arch-

[1] Extracted from the archives in the Tower of London. The original is in Latin. The present order does great credit to the policy and good

bishops, bishops, abbots, counts, barons, justiciaries, sheriffs, and all bailiffs, and his faithful subjects, to whom this present letter may come, greeting. Know ye, that we have proclaimed that the wreck of shattered ships be quiet and unmolested through all our land, both on this side of the sea and beyond it, for ever and ever, for the love of God, and for the salvation of our own soul, and of the soul of our father and of our predecessors, in the following manner: Willing and positively commanding that, if any vessel shall have been wrecked in any part of our territory, and if any one, whoever he be, hath escaped from thence, he have all his goods and property freely and quietly which shall come to land, and which he shall be able to show to be his in right and reason. But, if any man shall have perished in the wrecked vessel, we freely grant that his heirs, that is to say, his sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, from whatever quarter they may come, have the property of the deceased whole and entire, provided they shall be able to show, by fair and plausible reason, that they be the lawful heirs, by the credible testimony of their country, or by some other way. But, if the deceased have not a son or daughter, brother or sister, as heir, then, we will that the property of the deceased be our own. Moreover, that this grant of ours may continue sure, firm, and valid for ever and ever, we confirm the same by the sanction of our seal; these being witnesses: Walker, Archbishop of Rouen; Friar

feeling of Richard. It may be observed that the earliest collection of naval laws extant in this country were discovered by Mr. Wright, in the archives of the city of Southampton.

Warner of Naples; the Master of the Hospital in England: Brother Winfred, Master of the Templars in England. Given on the 16th of October, 1190.

Richard I. to the Emperor of Germany, Henry V., when he was the Emperor's prisoner.[1] *A.D.* 1196.

I have been born in such a station as to give an account of my actions to none but God; but these are of such a nature, that I fear not even the judgment of men, and especially, sire, of a prince so just as yourself.

My connexion with the King of Sicily ought not to have grieved you; I have been able to keep on good terms with a man of whose aid I stood in need, without justly offending a prince whose friend and ally I was. As for the King of France, I know of nothing that ought to have brought on me his ill-humour, except my having been more successful than he. Whether opportunity or fortune, I have done those feats which he would have been glad to achieve: this is the sum of my crimes towards him. With regard to the King of Cyprus, every one knows I have done no more than avenge the injuries that I had first received; and, in avenging myself on him, I have freed his subjects from the yoke by which he oppressed them. I have disposed of my conquest. Was it not my right? And if there was any one who ought to have found fault with it, it was the Emperor of Constantinople, by whom neither you nor I

[1] Records in the Tower of London, translated from the Anglo-Norman.

have been very kindly treated. The Duke of Austria has too well revenged the injury of which he complains to reckon it still among the number of my crimes. He was the first to fail in causing his standard to be hoisted in a place where we commanded, the King of France and myself in person. I punished him for it too severely: he has had his revenge twofold; he ought not to have anything upon his mind on this score, but the consciousness of a vengeance that Christianity permits not.

The assassination of the Marquis de Montserrat is as foreign to my character as my presumed correspondence with Saladin is improbable. I have not evinced, hitherto, such a dread of my enemies, as men should believe me capable of attacking their lives otherwise than sword in hand; and I have done mischief enough to Saladin, to compel men to think that I at least have not been his friend.

My actions speak for me, and justify my cause more than words: Acre taken, two battles won, parties defeated, convoys carried off, with such abundance of rich spoils, (with which the world is witness I have not enriched myself) indicate sufficiently, without my saying so, that I have never spared Saladin. I have received from him small presents, as fruits and similar things, which this Saracen, no less commendable for his politeness and generosity than for his valour and conduct, hath sent to me from time to time. The King of France received some as well as myself; and these are the civilities which brave men during war perform one towards another without ill consequences.

It is said that I have not taken Jerusalem. I should have taken it, if time for it had been given me: this is the fault of my enemies, not mine; and I believe no just man could blame me for having deferred an enterprise, (which can always be undertaken) in order to afford to my people a succour which they could not longer wait for.

There, sire, these are *my* crimes! Just and generous as you are, you, without doubt, acknowledge my innocence; and, if I am not mistaken, I perceive that you are affected at my misfortune.[1]

[1] This letter (now for the first time presented to the English reader) is strikingly characteristic of the noble nature and great qualities of England's illustrious warrior king. It will be remembered that, after a series of brilliant successes over Saladin, in which the cities of Acre, Ascalon, Joppa, and Cæsarea, successively capitulated, Richard—basely deserted abroad by his allies and brothers in arms, Philip Augustus, King of France, and the Dukes of Burgundy and Austria—his own brother John, moreover, treacherously endeavouring to supplant him on the English throne, by stirring up a revolt among his subjects at home—wisely determined to negociate a three years' truce with the valorous Saracen, who, from his constant reverses, was doubtless nothing loth to listen to such an arrangement with his more fortunate adversary. Most men are taught, in the course of their lives, that misfortunes seldom arrive singly; nor have sovereigns been exempted from this homely truth. Richard, on his return to chastise his rebel brother, was shipwrecked on the German coast, and fell into the power of the Emperor of Germany, Henry the Fifth, who, in order to have some pretext for imprisoning a monarch at once feared and dreaded by every other in Christendom, caused certain accusations to be brought against him, in answer to which Cœur de Lion indited this able and eloquent epistle. It failed, however, as might have been expected, to touch the heart of the German sovereign, who treated his renowned captive with all manner of indignities, until his loyal subjects proffered 150,000 marks for his ransom, when Richard was set at liberty, returned to England, and by his presence speedily restored tranquillity to his kingdom.

King John to William Picolf.[1] *A.D.* 1200.

To William Picolf, and Geoffry, his son:[2] John, by the grace of God, &c. Know ye, that we have given, and by the present charter have confirmed to William Picolf, our fool,[3] Fonte-ossanne, with all its appurtenances, to have and to hold it for himself and his heirs, on condition of doing henceforward annually for ourself the service of fool, as long as he shall live; and after his decease, his heirs shall hold the same land from us, by the service of one pair of gilded spurs, to be rendered to us annually.

Wherefore, we will and positively command that the foresaid Piculf and his heirs shall have and hold for ever, fairly and in peace, freely and in quiet, the foresaid land, with all its appurtenances, by virtue of the aforesaid service.

Mandate of Henry III. concerning the heart of his father.[4]

3rd December, 1235.

The king to all to whom the present letters shall come, greeting. Whereas we have been informed that

[1] From the Records in the Tower, translated from the Latin.

[2] This same Picolf and his son Geoffry received other donations in land and men from King John. See the Rolls of Normandy, 1835, pp. 20, 21, 61.

[3] We have here a curious memorial of the value set on the services of the court jester. The name is variously spelt in the MS.

[4] Cotton MSS., Vitell., E. v., Art. 17. Translated from the Latin. It is scarcely necessary to observe that it was formerly customary for the

the Lord Henry of celebrated memory, formerly King of England, our father, when he was long since at the monastery of Fontis-Ebrard,[1] promised his heart, after his decease, to the same monastery; and the abbess of the said monastery, beloved by us in Christ, lately coming into England, hath demanded that the heart should be delivered to herself, according to the promise aforesaid; our beloved in Christ, Walter, the abbot of Westminster, delivered the same heart whole and entire, in the presence of the venerable Fathers A. of Durham and R. of Bath and Wells, our bishops, and of our faithful and well beloved keeper of our palace, and of William de Valencia, our uncle, and of other our faithful nobles, on the Monday next before the feast of the blessed Virgin, in the twentieth year of our reign, in the church of Westminster, to the same abbess, according to our will and purpose; to be conveyed to the same monastery of Fontis-Ebrard, and to be buried in the same. In witness, &c.

The king himself witness at London on the third day of December, in the twentieth year of his reign.

Henry III. to Louis IX. of France.[2]

June 8th, 1242.

The king to my Lord the King of France, greeting. Your serene highness well remembereth in what manner,

hearts of persons of distinction to be preserved in a different place to which the body was interred. Richard Cœur de Lion was buried in three different places.

[1] Or Fonte-Evrault.

[2] Tower Records. From the Latin.

for five weeks from Easter-tide, a day had been appointed for making amends for the damages done on both sides, being contrary to the truce between you and ourself, at a place assigned for this purpose. To which when we sent our people specially on this account, no one on your part (as we did believe there would be, and as it was meet) made his appearance there. And your highness also remembreth in what manner afterwards we directed our messengers unto you, requiring you to make and in turn receive amends, touching the aforesaid damages. By whom you notified unto us that you would willingly do so, and you demanded another fixed day for that purpose; and we, although the place of Surgeres, where you wished the same to be treated of, had been by our people justly looked upon as suspicious, and not quite safe, nevertheless, from your honour, and that it might not be imputed to us that the truce between us was infringed on any pretence, have acquiesced in the day and place that were well pleasing to you. When, however, your messengers as well as ours had assembled on the day and at the place aforesaid, and we on our part were ready immediately to make amends to you for whatever damages might appear to have been done against you by us or our people, there was not one on your part to make any amends for the territory of Savaricus, of Maloleo, and for the Fort of Berceres, or for other things which had been plainly done against us, after the truce aforesaid. Wherefore, we notify to your serene highness that, as it has been through you, and still is, that satisfaction has not been made on each side for the aforesaid damages, hereafter we are not bound to observe the

truce, which you have broken, according to the articles contained in the body of the truce. Witness our hand at Saintes the 8th day of June, in the 26th year of our reign.[1]

Henry III. to the Justiciary of Ireland.[2]

The king to M. son of Gerald, justiciary of Ireland, greeting. Know ye that, after we had arrived in our land of Poictiers, in good health and safety, we, having in due and solemn form sent messengers unto the King of the Franks, caused it to be demanded of himself that he would compel amends to be made to ourself and our subjects for the damages done, on his part, to us and ours, subsequently to the truce made between ourself and him. And, as the same king, though many times sued unto on this point, hath refused so to do, the aforesaid truce between ourself and him is broken in course, and war hath been begun between us.

But, as for the maintenance of the said war we have great need as well of money as of men, we command you, by the faith and liegeance that you owe to us, that you

[1] In the new edition of Rymer, several letters are printed, in which Henry informs the barons of England of the rupture with France, and demands their immediate assistance. Some of them were written after the king arrived at Saintes. When he had collected his vassals and allies, his army amounted to about twenty-five thousand men; but, although the forces of Louis were not at first more numerous, they increased so rapidly, that the advantage gained shortly afterwards by the French can scarcely be considered a matter of surprise. One of Henry's letters has been selected, as a specimen, from the Tower Records, and follows the present one.

[2] Tower Records. From the Latin.

procure for our service all the money that you shall be able, and that you take measures for sending unto us of chosen men one hundred soldiers and two hundred knights, fit for service, all well and sufficiently furnished with horses and equipped with arms; and that you delay not to send them, together with the aforesaid money. And if, percase, our trusty lieges of Ireland, whom we have ordered to come unto us into Gascony with horses and arms, have not yet, at the receipt of these presents, set out on their journey towards us, we require of you, that you enjoin them, on our behalf, to come unto us with speed. Myself being witness, at Saintes, the 8th day of June, in the 26th year of our reign.

Henry III. to the Prior of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem, at Paris.[1]

15 November, 1253.

The king to his beloved Prior of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem, in France, or to his deputy, greeting.

Whereas, we delivered one thousand pounds sterling as a deposit into your house at Paris, in lieu of four thousand of the money of Tourenne, out of which you were to pay, on our account, annually to the Earl of March, eight hundred pounds, Tourenne money, for the custody of the Isle of Oleron, until the whole sum of

[1] From the Records in the Tower. Translated from the Latin. There is also preserved in the same office a warrant to Richard Earl of Cornwall, to compel the Prior to deliver the money to the Earl of Leicester, likewise dated on the 15th November.

the aforesaid four thousand pounds should be paid to the same earl; and this during the truce between ourself and the King of France. And whereas you have paid part of the aforesaid sum to the said earl, we command you that you deliver the whole residue of the said deposit to our faithful and well beloved Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, or to his order. We, on the other hand, will acquit you and the hospital-house of the sum which you shall deliver unto him, of the said deposit. We also appoint Brother Simon, minister of the house of Saint Maturin, of the order of the Trinity, at Paris, or his deputy, to audit, in our room, the reckoning of the said deposit. And we grant and concede that, if any documents of the hospital, making mention of the said deposit, shall be found in our hands, or elsewhere, or even any other, whereby any part of the deposit may be demanded of you or of the hospital-house, they shall be of no value or effect. In witness whereof, &c.

At Saint Macarius, the 15th day of November.

Edward I. to Philip III. of France.[1]

7 November, 1276.

To the noble prince, lord, and our very dear cousin, Lord Philip, by the grace of God, King of France, the Illustrious Edward, by the same grace, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, sends greeting, and this token of sincere affection for ever. Gladness fled far away from our heart, when, by the report of our

[1] Tower Records. From the Latin.

messengers, we learned that no manner of peace had been entered into or even projected between yourself and the King of Castile. Therefore, we, observing very clearly and pondering very deeply, to how many dangers Christianity is subjected from this discord having arisen between you, what a hurtful stumbling-block it proves to the business of the Holy Land, and what great slaughter threatens the worshippers of Christ, we, from a deep and stedfast affection for you, have entrusted, for a time, to our lieges the wars which had just burst forth anew in Ireland and Wales,[1] to our very heavy charges, purposing our journey in all haste to the parts where you dwell, and having set in order the affairs of our kingdom with all the despatch we may. And God grant, these provocations to mischief and malice being, meanwhile, removed on both sides, that the matter may be so by Him directed, that it may end to your honour; or, if not, it were better that the strife for a time be

[1] This winter was chiefly employed by the English in the war against Llewellyn, who had been proclaimed a traitor and rebel, and was afterwards killed at a battle near Builth. His head was cut off, sent to London, and exhibited to the public on the battlements of the Tower, crowned with a wreath of ivy. See MS. Cotton, Cleop. A. vi. A contemporary Latin song, which exhibits the spirit of the Welsh and ancient Britons against the English, thus commences—"The Cambrians, who are used to slay the Saxons, salute their relations the Britons, and Cornishmen; they require them to come with their sharp swords to conquer their Saxon enemies. Come now, vigorously, armed with coats of mail; a great part of the Saxons are fallen in mutual slaughter, the remainder shall be slain by us: now is the time for you to show of what blood you are sprung. The soothsayer Merlin never said a thing that was vain: he foretold that the mad people should be expelled. And you do not keep this wise counsel; observe, deceitful people, of whom the whole race is accursed."—Wright's Political Songs, p. 66.

suffered to slumber. Witness my hand, at Westminster, the 7th day of November, in the fourth year of our reign.

Letter of Edward I.[1] *A.D.* 1277.

The king, to all those to whom these presents shall come, greeting. We let you to know, all and every of you, that, whereas, in a peace and agreement long since made between the princes of famous memory, Saint Louis, then King of France, and Henry, then King of England; in the which peace and agreement is specified that the said King of France should give to the said Henry King of England as much as five hundred knights would cost reasonably, to be maintained for two years, in the judgment and opinion of wise and discreet persons, to be named by both parties, even as is specified more fully in the said peace and agreement. And, whereas we had demanded of the beloved lord and our cousin, Philip, the king that now is, what the said five hundred knights would cost reasonably to be maintained for two years, for the reason specified in the said peace and agreement. Inasmuch as we did not know that the said King of France had been quit and discharged therefrom; and, in every way, the people of the said lord and our cousin have by letters given their faith and assurance to our messengers and deputies, that the said Henry had had full satisfaction and entire payment of the said debt, and had acquitted the said Saint Louis, then King of France, and his successors: we acknowledge that the said King

[1] From the Tower Records, translated from the Anglo-Norman.

of France is quit and discharged therefrom ; and we will that either our successors, Kings of England, Dukes of Guienne, or others, never have power to demand any part of the same from the King of France that now is, from his heirs, nor from his successors, nor to balance this against any debts that we owe him, if none be found due to us from him.

In witness whereof, we have caused to be made out these our letters patent.

Given under our Great Seal, at Havering at Bower, the twentieth day of May, the fifth year of our reign.

Edward I. to Philip III. of France.[1]

14 October, 1279.

To the noble prince, lord, and our very dear kinsman, the Lord Philip, by the grace of God King of France, the illustrious Edward, by the same grace, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, greeting, with continued increase of sincere affection. When John de Pryé, your knight, was lately coming towards England, a certain tournament happened to take place in those quarters through which he was travelling into England; and, behold! when he had passed through those quarters, having unexpectedly heard the rumour of that tournament, he returned and took part in that meeting, as a knight becometh: and, because the same

[1] From the Archives in the Tower of London, translated from the Latin. It is written on a very small piece of vellum.

John feareth that he hath offended your highness, we affectionately request and beseech your serenity that you pardon him, and that (if it please you,) you be in no wise angered against him on this account, but that you be willing to excuse him for the same favourably; so far, at least, that he may feel that this, our urgent request, hath been to him of effectual service.[1]

Given at Westminster, the 13th day of October, in the seventh year of our reign.

Edward I. to the Magistrates of the Isle of Oleron.[2]

12th April, 1292.

The King to his beloved good people of the Isle of Oleron, greeting:

Whereas, we have much wine in the said Island, which cannot be elsewhere sold to advantage at the present, we beg you in order that the same wines may be sold more quickly, and at better price, that you would suspend the business of all the other taverns, for one whole month, to be reckoned from the time of the suspension.

By this, however, we will not that any harm or prejudice be caused to you in the future.

Given at Stebonhyth,[3] the 12th day of April.

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[1] It seems from this letter that it was unlawful for a knight to indulge his chivalrous propensities at tournaments, when engaged on any business for royalty. There is a similar document in Rymer.

[2] Tower Records. From the Latin.

[3] The old name of Stepney was Stebonhyth, Stybonhyth, or Stebonheath, where there was at one time a royal residence and manor.

Letter of Prince Edward, son of Edward I.[1]

15th May, 1299.

To all and every, to whom these presents are sent, Edward, son of the King of England, greeting in the Lord. Whereas the most Holy Father in Christ, Lord Boniface, by divine Providence Sovereign Pontiff of the Holy Roman and Universal Church, (acting as in a private character) and the Lord Benedict Gaytan, had undertaken, in behalf of the noble prince, Lord Philip King of France, the Illustrious, and of the foresaid Lord our father, to re-establish peace and concord between the King of France on the one part, and the same Lord our Father on the other part. And whereas compromise had lately been made by the said Lord Boniface (as in his private character) of all and everything—discords, wars, strifes, controversies, causes, disputes, losses, injuries, and wrongs, suits and actions, real and personal, and mixed, which have been and are and may be betwixt the aforesaid, the King of France, and the Lord our Father, on any pretence or occasion whatever, under certain forms and restrictions. And, whereas the Lord Benedict Gaytan, (as he is before called) by virtue of such compromise, hath spoken, hath awarded, commended, decided as umpire, sentenced, recommended, ordained, and regulated, and hath publicly declared that a lasting and firm peace subsists betwixt the aforesaid, the King

[1] MS. Cotton, Julius, E. I., f. 52. Isabella was born in 1295, so that she was only four years old when this commission was issued. They were married in 1308.

of France, and the Lord our Father; and, in order to confirm, strengthen, and preserve a peace of this nature, amongst other things, he hath ordained that espousals be contracted between ourself and Isabella, daughter of the fore-named king, under certain measures, conditions, and penalties.

Wherefore, we wishing and desiring humbly to obey the Apostolic ordinary, and to comply with the wishes of our nobles, (as we are bound) the advice and assent of our father being thereto added, do constitute and appoint a notable personage, Amadeus, Count of Savoy, as our true and lawful proxy and especial messenger, to contract the espousals, for us and in our name, with the aforesaid Isabella; and to confirm the same espousals by certain oaths and penalties; and to swear on our behalf upon our soul, whatsoever kind of oath is lawful; and to do all and every that ourself should or could do, if we were personally present, even if they should require a special mandate from us: we holding and intending to hold good and ratified whatever may have been done, performed, or attornied by the before-named Count, in the premises or any of them. And this we make known to all whom it concerneth, or may or can concern, or will concern in future, by these our letters-patent, confirmed by the force and sanction of our seal.

Given at Stepney, the 15th of May, 1299.

Edward I. to the Archbishop of Auch.[1]

The king to the Reverend Father, &c., by the same grace Archbishop of Auch, greeting, and the feeling of sincere affection. We do most earnestly request and beg your reverence that, by reason of the Countess of Foix having carried off the daughter of the Lord of Lescune, and having given her in marriage, contrary to the will of the same lord, as it is reported, that you be pleased, at our entreaties and for love of us, to inflict the full amount of justice upon her, without favour, in the Ecclesiastical Court.

Given at Certesye,[2] the 18th day of August, 1299.

Edward I. to Robert the Bruce.[3]

3 March, 1304.

Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, to our faithful and loyal Robert de Brus, Earl of Carrick, and to all our other good people who are in his company, greeting. We have heard that it is agreed between you and John de Segrave, and our other good people of his company, to follow the enemy, and that you desire we should hold you excused if you come not to us on the day appointed. Know that for the great diligence and care that you have

[1] From the Records in the Tower. Translated from the Latin.

[2] Chertsey.

[3] Original, under the privy seal, preserved in the office of the Duchy of Lancaster. Translated from the Anglo-Norman. John de Segrave had been defeated by the Scots a few months previously, near Roslin.

used and do use in our affairs from day to day, and because you are thus agreed to follow the enemy, we thank you as earnestly as we can, and pray and require especially, as we confide in you, who are our good people, and have well begun the said business, that you will complete it, and that you leavé not either for negociation or for any other thing until you follow diligently your intention to pursue the enemy, and to put an end to affairs before your departure from those parts. For if you complete that which you have there begun, we shall hold the war ended by your deed, and all the land of Scotland gained. So we pray you again, as much as we can, that whereas the robe is well made, you will be pleased to make the hood;[1] and by your letters, and by the bearer of these, send back to us your answer hereupon without delay, together with the news of your parts.

Given under our privy seal at Aberdour, the third day of March, the thirty-second year of our reign.

Edward the Second to his Treasurer.[2]

10 December, 1321.

Edward, by the grace of God, &c.

We command that ye provide sixteen pieces of cloth

[1] *Chape* and *chaperon* in the original. The former was a robe, and the latter a kind of hood worn by inferior ranks in the middle ages. They were worn together, and hence the metaphorical allusion in the text. See Roquefort's Glossary.

[2] From the Rolls of Parliament. See Strickland's Lives of the Queens, vol. ii., p. 263.

for the apparelling of ourselves and our dear companion, also furs, against the next feast of Christmas, and thirteen pieces of cloth for corsets for our said companion and her damsels, with naping linen,[1] and other things of which we stand in need, against the said feast; requiring you to assign to William Cassonces, the clerk of our wardrobe, one hundred and fifteen pounds, in such manner as may obtain prompt payment of the same for this purpose.

Given at Langley, the 10th day of December, and of our reign the 15th.

Edward II. to Richard de Burgh.[2]

The king to his well beloved and faithful Richard de Burgh, Lord of Ulster, greeting. How great mischief, slaughter of our people, demolition of churches, and laying waste of our kingdom, the Scotch, our rebels and enemies, have hitherto committed in this same kingdom of Ireland, we believe is not unknown to you and other our faithful subjects; and, what is more grievous, evidence thereof is still before your eyes. We, therefore, purpose at the ensuing summer to advance to the quarters of Scotland with our army, in order to punish this rebellion of our enemies aforesaid, and to avenge these injuries: and, as you regard ourself, and your and our honour, and the interest and welfare of the said kingdom,

[1] Table-linen.

[2] Lambeth Palace MSS., 610, f. 57. From the Latin. Similar letters were sent to many other noblemen, a list of whom is given in the original manuscript.

we command you in every way to assist in our enterprise. Witness the king himself at Hathelsey, 8th December, sixteenth year of Edward II. 1322.

Edward II. to Charles le Bel, King of France.[1]

Very dear and beloved brother,

We have received and well considered your letters delivered to us by the honourable Father in God, the Bishop of Winchester, who has also discoursed with us, by word of mouth, on the contents of the said letters.

It seems that you have been told, dearest brother, by persons whom you consider worthy of credit, that our companion, the Queen of England, dare not return to us, being in peril of her life, as she apprehends, from Hugh le Despencer. Certes, dearest brother, it cannot be that she can have fear of him, or any other man in our realm; since, *par Dieu!* if either Hugh or any other living being in our dominions would wish to do her ill, and it came to our knowledge, we would chastise him in a manner that should be an example to all others; and this is, and always will be, our entire will, as long as, by God's mercy, we have the power. And, dearest brother, know certainly, that we have never perceived that he has, either secretly or openly, by word, look, or action, de-

[1] Fœdera. This letter was written by Edward in reply to one from the King of France, stating that he could not permit Isabella to return to him, unless she were guaranteed from the evil that was meditated against her by her enemies the Spencers. See Strickland's Lives of the Queens, vol. ii., p. 273.

meaned himself otherwise than he ought, in all points, to do to so very dear a lady. And when we remember the amiable looks and words between them that we have seen, and the great friendship she professed for him before she crossed the sea, and the loving letters which she has lately sent him, which he has shown to us, we have no power to believe that our consort can, of herself, credit such things of him: we cannot in any way believe it of him, who, after our own person, is the man, of all our realm, who would most wish to do her honour, and has always shown good sincerity to you.

We pray you, dearest brother, not to give credence to any one who would make you otherwise suppose, but to put your faith in those who have always borne true witness to you in other things, and who have the best reason to know the truth of this matter. Wherefore, we beseech you, dearest brother, both for your honour and ours, but more especially for that of our said consort, that you would compel her to return to us with all speed; for, certes, we have been ill at ease for the want of her company, in which we have much delight; and if our surety and safe-conduct is not enough, then let her come to us on the pledge of your good faith for us.

We also entreat you, dearly beloved brother, that you would be pleased to deliver up to us Edward, our beloved eldest son, your nephew; and that of your love and affection to him you would render to him the lands of the duchy, that he be not disinherited, which we cannot suppose you wish. Dearly beloved brother, we pray you to suffer him to come to us with all speed; for we

have often sent for him, and we greatly wish to see him, and to speak with him, and every day we long for his return.

And, dearest brother, at this time the Honourable Father in God, Walter, Bishop of Exeter, has returned to us, having certified to us that his person was in peril from some of our banished enemies; and we, having great need of his counsel, enjoined him, on his faith and allegiance, to return forthwith, leaving all other matters in the best way he could. We pray you, therefore, to excuse the sudden departure of the said bishop, for the cause before said.

Given at Westminster, the first day of December, 1325.

Edward II. to his consort, Isabella of France, sister to Charles le Bel, King of France.[1]

Lady,

Oftentimes have we sent to you, both before and after the homage, of our great desire to have you with us, and of our grief of heart at your long absence; and, as we understand that you do us great mischief by this, we will that you come to us with all speed, and without further excuses.

Before the homage was performed, you made the advancement of that business an excuse; and now that we

[1] Rymer's Fœdera. These letters have been translated by Dr. Lingard and Miss Strickland.

have sent by the Honourable Father the Bishop of Winchester our safe-conduct to you, you will not come, for the fear and doubt of Hugh le Despencer; whereat we cannot marvel too much, when we recall your flattering deportment towards each other in our presence, so amicable and sweet was your deportment, with special assurances and looks, and other tokens of the firmest friendship; and also, since then, your very especial letters to him of late date, which he has shown to us.

And, certes, lady, we know for truth, and so know you, that he has always procured from us all the honour he could for you, nor to you hath either evil or villany been done since you entered into our companionship; unless, peradventure, as you may yourself remember, once when we had cause to give you secretly some words of reproof for your pride, but without other harshness: and, doubtless, both God and the law of our holy church require you to honour us, and for nothing earthly to trespass against our commandments, or to forsake our company. And we are much displeased, now the homage has been made to our dearest brother, the King of France, and we have such fair prospect of amity, that you, whom we sent to make the peace, should be the cause (which God forefend!) of increasing the breach between us by things which are feigned and contrary to the truth. Wherefore, we charge you as urgently as we can that, ceasing from all pretences, delays, and false excuses, you come to us with all the haste you can. Our said bishop has reported to us that our brother, the King of France, told you in his presence, that, by the tenour of

your safe-conduct, you would not be delayed, or molested, in coming to us as a wife should to her lord. And, as to your expenses, when it shall be that you will come to us as a wife should to her lord, we will provide that there shall be no deficiency in aught that is pertaining to you, and that you be not in any way dishonoured by us. Also, we require of you that our dear son Edward return to us with all possible speed, for we much desire to see him, and to speak with him.

December 1st, 1325.

Edward II. to his son, Edward Prince of Wales.

Very dear son,

As you are young, and of tender age, we remind you of that which we charged and commanded you at your departure from Dover; and you answered then, as we know, with good will, that you would not trespass or disobey any of our injunctions in any point for any one. And since that your homage has been received by our dearest brother, the King of France, your uncle: be pleased to take your leave of him, and return to us with all speed, in company with your mother, if so be that she will come quickly; and if she will not come, then come you without farther delay, for we have great desire to see you and to speak with you: therefore, stay not for your mother, nor for any one else, on our blessing.

Given at Westminster, the 2nd day of December.

Edward II. to his son, Prince Edward.[1]

18 March, 1326.

Edward, fair son,

We understand by your letters, written in reply to ours, that you remember well the charge we gave you; among other things, not to contract marriage, nor to suffer it to be contracted for you, without our knowledge and consent; and also that at your departure from Dover you said that it should be your pleasure to obey our commandments as far as you could, all your days.

Fair son, if thus you have done, you have done wisely and well, and according to your duty, so as to have grace of God of us and all men; and if not, then you cannot avoid the wrath of God, the reproach of men, and our great indignation; for we charged you so lately and so strictly that you should remember well these things, and that you should by no means marry, nor suffer yourself to be married, without our previous consent and advice; for no other thing that you could do would occasion greater injury and pain of heart to us. And, inasmuch as it seems, you say, you cannot return to us, because of your mother, it causes us great uneasiness of heart that you cannot be allowed by her to do that which is your natural duty, and which not doing will lead to much mischief.

Fair son, you know how dearly she would have been loved and cherished, if she had timely come, according

[1] Rymer's Fœdera.

to her duty to her lord. We have knowledge of much of her evil doings, to our sorrow; how that she devises pretences for absenting herself from us on account of our dear and faithful nephew, H. le Despencer, who has always so well and loyally served us, while you and all the world have seen that she openly, notoriously, and knowing it to be contrary to her duty, and against the welfare of our crown, has attached to herself, and retains in her company, the Mortimer, our traitor and mortal foe, proved, attainted, and adjudged, and him she accompanies in the house and abroad, despite of us, of our crown, and the right ordering of the realm—him, the malefactor, whom our beloved brother the King of France, at our request, banished from his dominions as our enemy! And worse than this she has done, if worse than this can be, in allowing you to consort with our said enemy, making him your counsellor, and you openly to herd and associate with him, in the sight of all the world, doing so great a villany and dishonour both to yourself and us, to the prejudice of our crown, and of the laws and customs of our realm, which you are supremely bound to hold, preserve, and maintain.

Wherefore, fair son, desist you from a part which is so shameful, and may be to you perilous and injurious in too many ways. We are not pleased with you; and neither for your mother, nor for any other, ought you to displease us. We charge you, by the faith, love, and allegiance which you owe us, and on our blessing, that you come to us without opposition, delay, or any further excuse; for your mother has written to us, that if you

wish to return to us she will not prevent it; and we do not understand that your uncle, the king, detains you against the form of your safe-conduct.

In no manner, then, either for your mother, or to go to the duchy, nor for any other cause, delay to come to us. Our commands are for your good, and for your honour, by the help of God. Come quickly, then, without further excuse, if you would have our blessing, and avoid our reproach and indignation.

It is our wish to order all things for the good of the Duchy, and our other dominions, for our mutual honour and benefit.

If John of Bretagne and John de Cromwell will come in your company, they will do their duty.

Fair son, trespass not against our commands, for we hear much that you have done of things you ought not.

Given at Lichfield, the 18th day of March.

Edward II. to Charles le Bel, King of France.[1]

Dearest brother,

We have considered well your letters, in which you signify that you have spoken with good diligence to your sister, touching the things on which we have replied to you, and that she has told you that it is her desire to be with us, and in our company, as a good wife ought to be in that of her lord, and that the friendship between her and our dear and faithful nephew, H. le Despencer, was but feigned on her part, because she saw

[1] Rymer's Fœdera.

it was expedient for her support in past time, and to secure herself from worse treatment. Certes, dearest brother, if she loved us, she would desire to be in our company, as she has said. She who ought to be the mediatress between you and us of entire and lasting peace, should not be the cause of stirring up fresh strife, as she has done when she was sent to nourish peace and love between you and us, which we intended in all good faith when we sent her to you; but the thought of her heart was to devise that pretence for withdrawing from us.

We have already shown you that what she has told you is, saving your reverence, not the truth; for never (so much as she has done against us) has she received either evil or villany from us, or from any other. Neither has she had any occasion "for feints to support herself, in times passed, nor to escape from worse;" for never, in the slightest instance, has evil been done to her by him:[1] and, since she has departed from us and come to you, what has compelled her to send to our dear and trusty nephew, H. le Despencer, letters of such great and especial amity as she has been pleased to do from time to time?

But truly, dearest brother, it must be as apparent to you as to us, and to all men, that she does not love us as she ought to love her lord; and the cause why she has spoken falsehoods of our nephew, and withdrawn herself from us, proceeds, according to my thoughts,

[1] Hugh le Despencer.

from a disordered will, when she so openly, notoriously, and knowingly, against her duty.....[1]

If you wished her well, dearest brother, you would chastise her for this misconduct, and make her demean herself as she ought, for the honour of all those to whom she belongs. Then our son, dearest brother, is made also by his mother, your sister, the companion of our said traitor and foe, who is his councillor in delaying his return, in our despite.

And that you will be pleased to do these things, dearest brother, for the sake of God, reason, good faith, and natural fraternity, without paying regard to the light pleasaunce of a woman, is our desire.

Given at Lichfield, the 18th of March.

The same to the same.

Most dear and beloved brother,

We would wish you to remember that we have at different times signified to you by our letters, how improperly your sister, our wife, has conducted herself in withdrawing from us, and refusing to return at our command, while she so notoriously has attached to her company, and consorts with, our traitor and mortal enemy, the Mortimer, and our other enemies there, and also makes Edward, our son and heir, an adherent of the same our enemies, to our great shame, and that of every one of his blood; and if you wish her well, you ought,

[1] Here follow expressions of indignation, which are merely repetitions of part of his former letter.

both for your own honour and ours, to have these things duly redressed.

But these things are as nothing; it is the herding of our said wife and son with our traitors and mortal enemies, that notoriously continues; insomuch, that the said traitor, the Mortimer, was carried in the train of our said son publicly to Paris, at the solemnity of the coronation of our very dear sister, your wife, the Queen of France, at the Pentecost just passed, to our great shame, and in despite of us.

Wherefore, dearest brother, we pray you as earnestly as we can, by the rights and blessings of peace, and the entire friendship that subsists between us, that you will of your benevolence effectually attend to our supreme desire, that we be not thus dishonoured, and our son disinherited, which we cannot suppose you wish.

Dearest brother, you ought to feel for us, and so should all men of our estate; for much we are, and much we have been grieved at the shameful despites and great injury which we have so long endured. Nay, verily, brother-in-law, but we cannot bear it longer. The holy spirit have charge of you.

Edward II. to his son, Edward Prince of Wales.[1]

Edward, fair son,

We have seen, by your letters lately written to us, that you well remember the charges we enjoined

[1] This is the last letter which the king wrote to induce his son to tear himself away from the evil counsels by which he was surrounded.

you on your departure from Dover, and that you have not transgressed our commands in any point that was in your power to avoid. But to us it appears that you have not humbly obeyed our commands as a good son ought his father; since you have not returned to us, to be under government, as we have enjoined you by our other letters, on our blessing, but have notoriously held companionship, and your mother, also, with Mortimer, our traitor and mortal enemy, who, in company with your mother and others, was publicly carried to Paris in your train, to the solemnity of the coronation, at Pentecost just past, in signal despite of us, and to the great dishonour both of us and you; for truly he is neither a meet companion for your mother nor for you, and we hold that much evil to the country will come of it.

Also, we understand that you, through counsel, which is contrary both to our interest and yours, have proceeded to make divers alterations, injunctions, and ordinances, without our advice, and contrary to our orders, in the Duchy of Guienne, which we have given you; but you ought to remember the conditions of the gift, and your reply when it was conferred upon you at Dover. These things are inconvenient, and must be most injurious. Therefore, we command and charge you, on the faith and love you ought to bear us, and on our blessing, that you show yourself our dear and well beloved son, as you have aforetime done; and ceasing from all excuses of your mother, or any like those that you have just written, you come to us here with all haste, that we may ordain for you and your states as honourably as you can desire.

By right and reason; you ought to have no other governor than us, neither should you wish to have.

Also, fair son, we charge you by no means to marry till you return to us, nor without our advice and consent, nor for any cause either go to the Duchy, or elsewhere, against our will and command.

PS. Edward, fair son, you are of tender age; take our commandments tenderly to heart, and so rule your conduct with humility, as you would escape our reproach, our grief, and indignation, and advance your own interest and honour. Believe no counsel that is contrary to the will of your father, as the wise King Solomon instructs you. Understand certainly, that if you now act contrary to our counsel, and continue in wilful disobedience, you will feel it all the days of your life, and all other sons will take example to be disobedient to their lords and fathers.

Edward III. to some naval commander.[1]

25th August, 1332.

Very dear and faithful cousin, we greet you specially from the heart: And, because we sincerely think that you would wish to hear of us and our good estate and entire health, we let you to know that, at the despatching hereof, we were quite whole and in good condition, blessed

[1] Cotton. MSS., Vespas., F. vii., art. 6. Translated from the Anglo-Norman. Baliol was at this time successfully fighting for the crown of Scotland, and Edward sent the English fleet to the Tay, where they defeated the Scots who made an attack on them.

be our Lord for it! Desiring perfectly to hear and learn continually similar news of you and your good estate, which may our Lord Almighty give and grant unto you to be as comfortable as you could think or desire, even to the great comfort of ourself.

On the other hand, very dear cousin, we have caused to be written unto you—according to the advice of our council, by our letters under our privy seal—the opinion and purpose of ourself, and the same our council, to the end that you may cruize with our fleet and our galleys towards the quarters of Scotland, in order to do there the damages and destruction that you can to our enemies of Scotland, if it seemeth to you that this may be done, and you have not any other plan or purpose more profitable, advantageous, and honourable to ourself and our kingdom, as by our said letters you will be able to perceive more fully.

Very dear and faithful cousin, may the Lord deign to keep you ever!

Given at our signet, at our Castle of Rockingham, on Tuesday, in the evening, the 25th of August.

Edward III. to the Abbot of Reading.[1]

5th June, 1338.

Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord

[1] MS. Cotton. Claudius, E. 8, f. 2. The King was using his utmost endeavours to obtain money for carrying on the war he had proclaimed against France. We here have an example of the shifts to which our ancient monarchs were constantly obliged to have recourse in order to raise supplies.

of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitania, to all to whom the present letters shall come, greeting. Know that we have received by the hands of our beloved clerk, Edmund de la Beche, keeper of the wardrobe, from our dearly beloved brother in Christ, Richard de Maurdyn, abbot of the monastery of Reading, from the jewelry of the said abbot, one chalice, with a paten [1] of pure gold, four pounds in weight, and worth £54 9*s*. 0*d*.; and one casket of pure gold, for carrying reliques, in the form of a little shrine,[2] garnished with sapphires, oriental pearls, sardonyxes,[3] rubies, balaises,[4] and various other stones, twenty pounds in weight, and two hundred pounds in value, which the said abbot has lent us for the furtherance of our affairs, and which we promise faithfully to return, or to pay the value thereof to the said abbot. Witness my hand at St. Edmund's, the fifth day of June, in the twelfth year of our reign.

Edward III. to the Bishop.[5]

Pride, the scaire [6] of hearts, which always riseth most commonly, doth engender diseases of remedies, and sick-

[1] A small plate or salver, used as a cover to the chalice.

[2] *Parvi feretri*, MS.

[3] *Camahutis*, MS.

[4] A kind of ruby, formerly very greatly esteemed.

[5] Cotton. MSS., App., xxvii. Unfortunately there is no date to this spirited letter, nor is the name of the royal writer mentioned in the MS. There can, however, be little doubt that it relates to some of the disputes with the clergy which took place in the reign of Edward III. The style of address proves that it could not have been written before that period.

[6] The destroyer, or deformer.

ness of medicines. This to be so, the arrogant presumption of John, Archbishop of Canterbury, proveth, who—after he no long time since openly made some sinister and wrong report of us and ours, and had commanded the same to be published in many notorious places, as in our excusatory letters thereupon lately, and others unto you directed, is more fully contained, now heaping more grievous charges upon the former [letters]—endeavoureth by singular subtle working to impugn our true excuses, which, to the saving of our princely dignity and estimation, we provided to be signified to our faithful people: and, by fresh letters to you and others lately sent, with slanderous pen and lying style, still more bitterly and uncivilly [endeavoureth] to defame us.

And although it be the custom and manner of high bishops, cardinals, and inferior prelates, reverently and courteously to admit the King's tale and letters, yet, to our said excusatory letters containing matters rightful and true, (which thing in due time and place we purpose clearly to prove) he doth give the name and title of detestable and infamous libels, putting upon our name a false reproach: for, if a man, having regard of the public weal, be ready to prove crimes put in writing—if so be that an upright conscience and plain dealing aid his assertions—he is excused from the blame of an infamous libeller, and is accounted thereupon praiseworthy. Moreover, he—not observing the custom and manner of his elders and forefathers, which are wont to reverence and love their princes, and both of themselves to make and cause also of others to be made for them observations,[1]

[1] Respect and reverence.

prayers, intercessions, and thanksgiving, and instruct them in the spirit of unity—beginneth against us and them that be near our side a web of a rash faction and perverse invention in the spirit of haughtiness, by prolonging his iniquity, and seeking the comfort of men in misery, to wit, to have many partakers in his pain; and —which is worse in his offence—his own suffragans and others, our devout and trusty subjects, he busily goeth about by lies violently to bring upon us and ours irreverence and contempt. And, although before God not the degree of them that be aloft, but the actions of virtuous life, be accepted and approved, he, glorying in the height of his estate, requireth reverence to be done unto him, as to the legate of Christ, and giveth not to us the reverence that he ought to do. Nay, rather, whereas he and other prelates of the realm which receive of us the temporalities of their church, by duty of fidelity which they are sworn to, ought to show us faithfulness, honour, and reverence, he alone is not affeared[1] to yield for loyalty, disloyalty; for honour, contumely; and contempt for reverence.

Whereupon, albeit we have been always ready and at this time are ready to reverence our spiritual fathers as is convenient, yet ought we not with winking oues[2] to pass over their offences, which we see redound to the peril of us and our realm. Now, this archbishop complaineth that certain crimes in our said letters excusatory were objected against him unheard and undefended; and

[1] Afraid. This good old English word is now a provincial vulgarism.
[2] Eyes.

that he was adjudged guilty of capital offences, although we, as he fondly[1] pretendeth, had proceeded criminally to the highest against him, which, verily, is not true; for so much as we, by necessity compelled, did but only take upon us the part of one that did excuse himself, lest we should seem not to regard our name and fame.

But, let this slanderous reprehender look and consider whether this complaint may not justly be wrested back upon his own head, which, falsely and maliciously, hath in words affirmatively avouched, and put it down in writing, that we and our councillors be oppressors, and transgressors of the laws, being absent, unheard, undefended, and convicted. Whereas, indeed, the fault rebuketh him worthily, that incurreth the crime which he reproveth; and wherein he judgeth another, condemneth himself, while in the self-same he is found reproveable.

Furthermore, though he applied not his mind and travail to serve our profit, but his own lust, he embraideth,[2] nevertheless, and boasteth that, for the King's affairs, (that we may use his words) he hath in the top[3] of labours laboured until he sweat. Whereupon he feareth he hath many ways incurred the heavy displeasure of God and men. And this may he justly fear, seeing that he may be reckoned in the number of them that, according to the check[4] of the prophet, "have taught their tongues to speak lies, and have taken great pains to do wickedly."

To certain other fabulous and gay-coloured words

[1] Foolishly.
[2] Complaineth; upbraideth.
[3] Greatest.
[4] Reproof.

comprised in the archbishop's letters, though we could confute them with reasons clearer than the light, we have thought good at this present to give no answer, lest we should be long in the discourse thereof. But, because it is not decent to draw the cord with a contentious person, nor to consent to his perverseness, we firmly enjoin and command you, upon the allegiance and love that you are bound to us in, that—notwithstanding any commandment whatsoever of the archbishop, whom, in derogation of the King's honour against the oath of fidelity that you have given unto us, you are not bound to obey—that you proceed to the publication of that that is in our before-said letters excusatory contained, according to the tenour of them. And, because we be (as we ought,) careful to the uttermost for conservation [1] of our royal rights and prerogatives, which, in former time worthily to be remembered, our progenitors have honourably defended; and this same archbishop, to stir up against us the clergy and the people, and to let [2] the going forward and despatching of our war, which by his advice and counsel principally we took in hand, hath made and published, and hath commanded others to make and publish, to the hurt of our majesty, and manifest derogation of our rights and prerogatives royal, certain denouncings and publications of sentences of excommunications and admonitions injurious, and to the right of our crown and princely pre-eminence prejudicial; forasmuch as thereby he endeavoureth in many articles to take from us that jurisdiction that to us notoriously

[1] Preservation. [2] Hinder.

appertaineth, whereof, being a king anointed, we are known to be capable, and the which we and our progenitors have peaceably used of old, the high bishops, prelates, and clergy of our realm knowing it and tolerating it. We, straitly, and upon the peril that may fall thereupon, inhibit [1] you, that you make not in any wise, by yourselves or others, at the command of the archbishop, or of any other whatsoever, or that (as much as in you lieth) you suffer not to be made of others, any publications or denunciations, or such like admonitions undue, and to our rights and prerogatives royal derogatory and prejudicial, or aught else by the which our faithful people may be stirred up against us, or whereby the despatching of our wars may any way be letted and hindered, to the subversion of us and our faithful people, which God forbid! And if aught by you in this behalf hath been attempted, that you speedily recall it.

Witness myself at the Tower of London, the one and twentieth of March.

Edward III. to the English Clergy.[2]

Edward, by the grace of God, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to his archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, &c., greeting:—

[1] Prohibit or forbid.

[2] The victory to which Edward alludes was gained on June 24th, 1340. The ships of Philip carried turrets, provided with stones, at their mast-heads, and were fastened to each other by chains of iron. See *Lingard*, iv. 30. Edward returned thanks to the Almighty on the day after the battle in the church of Ardenbourgh, and this letter is a further evidence of his anxiety to comply with the religious forms usually practised on such occasions by our Catholic ancestors.

We thought good to intimate unto you, for your certification and rejoicing, the bountiful benignity of God's great mercy so lately poured upon us. It is not unknown to you (we suppose), nor to other our liege subjects, who also have been partakers with us in the same, with what boisterous wars we have of late been tossed and shaken as in the swelling ocean. But, although the rising billows of the sea are wonderful, yet more wonderful is the Lord above, who, turning the tempest into a calm, hath in so great dangers so mercifully respected us.

For whereas of late, upon urgent reason, we prepared to pass into Flanders, the lord Philip of Valois, our bitter enemy, understanding our purpose, laid against us a mighty navy, intending thereby either to take our person, or, at least, to hinder our voyage, which voyage, if it had been accordingly hindered, all our great enterprises which we have taken in hand had been dashed, and we ourselves brought to great confusion. The God of mercies beholding us so distressed, and in such peril and imminent danger, hath graciously and beyond man's expectation, sent unto us sufficient succour and strength of valiant soldiers, and a prosperous wind, after our own desires; by means and help whereof we set out of the haven into the open seas, where we soon perceived our enemies, well appointed and prepared to set upon us with a main multitude, against whom, notwithstanding, on midsummer-day last past, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ hath granted us the victory, after a sharp and terrible conflict, in which battle a mighty number of our enemies were destroyed, and almost all their

whole navy taken, with some loss also on our part, but nothing like in comparison to theirs. By reason whereof we doubt not but that the passage by sea shall hereafter prove more quiet and safe, both to us and our subjects, and also many other commodities shall ensue thereupon, as we have good cause to hope.

Wherefore we, devoutly considering the divine favours so graciously bestowed upon us, do render our most humble thanks and praise to Christ our Lord and Saviour, beseeching Him that as he hath been, and always is, most ready to prevent our necessities in his own good time, so He will please to continue his helping hand ever towards us, and so direct us here temporally, that we may reign and rejoice with Him eternally in heaven. Moreover, we require your charitable assistance, that you also rising up together with us, unto the praise of God alone (who hath so favourably begun to work with us for our good), do instantly in your public prayers and divine service, as well as in your private devotions, recommend us to the Lord, since we are here labouring in these foreign parts, and not only studying to recover our right in France, but also highly to exalt the whole catholic church of Christ, and to rule our people in righteousness; and that you also call upon all your clergy and people (each one through his distinct diocese) to do the same, altogether invoking the name of our Saviour on our behalf, that of his clemency He would please to give unto us, his humble servant, his grace and a docile heart, that we may so judge and govern here upon earth in equity, doing what he hath

commanded, that at length we may happily attain to that which he hath promised through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. 1340.

Edward III. to Philip Earl of Valois.[1]

Edward, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, to the right noble and puissant lord Philip, earl of Valois.

We have for a long time besought you by messages, and all other ways, in the most reasonable manner, that you would restore unto us our heritage of France, which you have this long time detained and forcibly withheld from us; and whereas, fully perceiving that you intend to persevere in your injurious detention, without offering an honest reply to our demand, we have entered the land of Flanders as its sovereign lord, and are passing through the country. And we signify unto you, that, aided by our Lord Jesus Christ and our right, with the power of the said country, our people, and allies, we purpose to recover the right we have to that inheritance, which you violently withhold from us, and will at once decide our rightful challenge, if you will approach. And forasmuch as we have so great an army assembled, a like power, it is presumed, being assembled on your part, which cannot remain long in the field without pro-

[1] Robert of Avesbury's Chronicle. Edward had now surrounded Tournay with a large army, but it was well defended by a garrison numbering thirty thousand men. Philip sent a haughty reply to this letter, stating that it was not his province to answer letters addressed to Philip o Valois, and that he, his sovereign lord, would make him quit France whenever he thought fit.

ducing great destruction to the people of the country, which thing every good Christian should eschew, especially princes and others, who have the government of the people; it is very desirable to settle the matter briefly, to avoid the mortality of Christians, since the quarrel is between you and us only, that the discussion of our challenge should be decided by our own persons, to which arrangement we offer ourselves, for the causes already stated, and in consideration of the great nobleness of your person and superior intelligence. And, in case you shall not agree to this way, then let us determine our dispute by a battle of one hundred of the most sufficient persons on your part, and as many on ours. And if you will not allow one way or the other, then assign a certain day to be before the city of Tournay for a combat of all your power, which day to be ten days after the date of this letter.

And we offering to your choice all the above conditions—for it is our desire it should be known that not from pride or presumption, but from the causes already stated, and to the intent that the will of our Lord Jesus Christ being declared between us, for the greater repose of all true Christians, and that the enemies of God might be the better resisted for the security of Christianity; and we desire you to consider which of our offers you will accept, and signify the same to the bearer of these letters, and with all convenient despatch.

Given under our great seal at Chyn, in the fields opposite Tournay, the 27th day of the month of July, in the year of Grace, 1340.

Edward III. to the Pontiff.[1]

We nothing doubt but that it is now publicly known, how, from the very first rise of Christianity in our kingdom of England, our progenitors, the kings of England, and the lords and other subjects of the said realm, have, for the augmentation of divine worship, built churches, enriched them with ample possessions, and endowed them with large privileges, placing fit ministers therein, who have (nor without success) preached the Catholic faith to the people in their mother tongue, by whose care and diligence the vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth hath wonderfully prospered, both in culture and fruit. But now—which is to be lamented—the slips of this very vine are degenerated into a wild vine, and the boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the wild beast of the field doth devour it. While, by the impositions and provisions of the apostolic see (which now grow more insupportable than ever), its own proper goods, against the pious intent and appointment of the donors, are held in the hands of the unworthy, and especially of foreigners, and its dignities and chief benefices are conferred upon strangers, who, for the most part, are persons at the least suspected by us, and who neither reside on the said benefices, nor know the face, nor understand the voice, of the flock committed to them; but wholly neglecting the care of souls, like hirelings, only seek their

[1] Barnes, p. 277. This is part only of a letter, which is scarcely worth giving entire. It shows, in a very curious and decisive manner, the great dissatisfaction felt in this country at the immense patronage bestowed by the pope on foreigners.

own profit and temporal advantage. And so the worship of Christ is impaired, the cure of souls is neglected, hospitality withdrawn, the rights of the churches lost, the houses of the clergy dilapidated, the devotion of the people extinguished; the clergy of the said kingdom, who are men of great learning and honest conversation, and are both able and willing effectually to perform the work of ministers, and would also be very fit for our and the public service, forsake their studies, because the hope of a reasonable preferment is thus taken away.

Richard II. to each of his Peers.[1]

Very Dear and Faithful Cousin,

Inasmuch as our beloved companion, the queen, whom God has hence commanded, will be buried at Westminster on Monday the 3rd of August next, we earnestly entreat that you, setting aside all excuses, will repair to our city of London the Wednesday previous to the same day, bringing with you our very dear kinswoman, your consort, at the same time.

We desire that you will, the preceding day, accompany the corpse of our dear consort from our manor of Shene to Westminster; and for this we trust we may rely on you as you desire our honour, and that of our kingdom.

Given under our privy seal at Westminster, the 10th day of June, 1394.

[1] Richard exhibited the most frantic grief on the death of his first consort, and the apartments in which she died were dismantled at his express order. The present letter is printed in the Fœdera in the original Latin.

Richard II. to the Duke of York, Custos of England, and to the Privy Council.[1]

Very dear and right well-beloved uncle, right reverend Father-in-God,, and our dear and faithful ones; we greet you very often with our whole heart, letting you to know, by means of these letters, that we are in good and perfect health, the Lord be thanked for it! and right entirely with our whole heart we desire to hear from you of your being and estate; and especially of the good government and prosperity of our kingdom continual good and acceptable news: God ever grant, of his mighty power, that this may be very good and pleasing!

And, touching the news from hence, we will you to know that, by the advice of our council, we have resolved, great and notable reasons moving us thereto, to hold our parliament here at our city of Dublin, on the Monday the day after the octaves of Easter[2] next ensuing; and the writs for the foresaid parliament shall be made in all haste.

Likewise, because that in our land of Ireland there are three kinds of people, that is to say, the Wild Irish, our enemies, the Irish Rebels, and the obedient English, it appeareth to us and our council around us that, considering that the Irish Rebels are, perhaps, so rebellious

[1] Cotton MSS. Titus, B. xi., f. 23, b. Translated from the Anglo-Norman. Richard himself was in Ireland at the time this letter was written; and, by his judicious management, he ultimately succeeded in reducing that country to some degree of tranquillity. He makes a distinction between those who had never sworn fealty, and those who had and rebelled. The former he terms savages; the latter rebels.

[2] On Easter Monday,

by reason of the grievances and wrongs done unto them on the one part, and that redress hath not been made to them on the other part; and that, likewise, if they be not wisely managed, and put into good hope of favour, they will probably join our enemies; wherefore, it shall not be any fault of ours that a general pardon be granted them: and to this end a fee is to be paid by each, that he may have the aforesaid pardon. Wherefore it seemeth to us and our council, that in many ways great good will accrue to us and our said land.

But, forasmuch as we intend not to do any such and weighty a thing without your counsel and assent, we have taken generally the said Irish Rebels into our especial protection, to continue till fifteen days after Easter-day next ensuing, to the end that, meanwhile and then they may come in, those of them who would explain the causes of their rebellion; and especially that, in the mean time, we may have your full counsel and opinion, whether the said pardon should be granted or not. So, we will and command, strictly charging you that you hold communication among yourselves upon the said matter; and that you send unto us clearly your counsel and opinion, the soonest you can in one way or other; and this, upon the full and entire confidence that we have in you; certifying to us, likewise, whenever you can, all your news for the love of us. And may our Lord have you in his keeping!

Given under our signet, at our city of Dublin, the 1st of February.

18th Richard II., A.D. 1395.

Henry IV. His Renewal of the Letters Patent granted by Richard II. to Geoffrey Chaucer.[1] *A.D.* 1399.

The king to all, &c., greeting. It appeareth to us, by inspection of the Rolls of the Chancery-court of Richard, late king of England the Second after the conquest, that the same lately king caused his letters patent to be made to this effect:

"Richard, by the grace of God, &c., greeting. Know ye that we, of our especial favour, and in return for the good service which our beloved esquire, Geoffrey Chaucer, hath bestowed, and will bestow on us in time to come, have granted to the same Geoffrey twenty pounds, to be received each year at our Exchequer, at the terms of Easter and St. Michael, by equal portions, for his whole life. In witness whereof, we have caused to be made these our letters patent. Ourself witness at Westminster, 28th of February, in the seventeenth year of our reign."

It appeareth also to us, by inspection of the Rolls of the Chancery-court of the same lately king, that he caused his other letters patent to be made to this effect:

"Richard, by the grace of God, &c., greeting. Know ye that, of our especial grace, we have granted to our beloved esquire, Geoffrey Chaucer, one cask of wine, to be received every year during his life, in the port of our

[1] MSS. in Rolls' House, Chancery Lane, translated from the Latin. This is a curious document concerning the father of English poetry, and the annual pension of £20 granted to him is said to have been the origin of the office and endowment of poet laureat.

city of London, by the hands of our chief butler for the time being. In witness whereof, &c.

" Witness ourself at Westminster, on the 13th day of October, the twenty-second year of our reign."

We, in consideration that the same Geoffrey hath appeared before us in our Chancery-court personally, and hath made corporal oath, that the aforesaid letters have been casually lost, have thought proper that the tenour of the record of the same letters be transcribed by these present. In witness, &c.

The king being witness, at Westminster, the 18th day of October, 1399.

Henry IV. to the Lords of the Council.[1]

Dated at York, 4 July, 1400.

Right dear and well-beloved,

Forasmuch as we are not yet, in the least, provided with wine, flour, grain, hay, and oats, for the expense of our household and army which will be with us in our journey towards the marches of Scotland, we will, by the advice of our council, and hereby command you that, under our privy seal, you cause our letters to be sent in due form to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, of our city of London; and to the mayor and

[1] MS. Bibl. Cotton. F. 7. f. 91. Translated from the Anglo-Norman. At this time Henry was making active preparations for a war with Scotland. The clergy had already granted him a tenth of their incomes for this object, and the barons had promised to serve him in the field with a certain number of men each, at their own expense.

bailiffs of the Cinque Ports, and of our towns of Orwell, Yarmouth, Lynne, Saint Botolph, Grimsby, Barton-upon-Humber, Kingston-upon-Hull, Whitby, and Scarborough, and other towns where you shall find it convenient,—that they by sea cause to be brought to our port of Tynemouth and Shields without delay wine, flour, grain, hay, and oats, to be there ready to be conveyed to our town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Holy Island, and to our city of Berwick-upon-Tweed, according as they shall be ordered, on our behalf, in order to refresh us and our army there. Promising by our said letters to the aforesaid mayors, sheriffs, and bailiffs, that each who shall so send to us wine, flour, grain, hay, and oats, that to them it shall be assigned to have reasonable payment, each to receive it from our custom-officers of the same town where he dwelleth; and moreover, you and our treasurer, give them security in the best form and manner that you shall be able.

And, on the other hand, forasmuch as certain messages from our adversary of Scotland on his part and on the part of the lords of his kingdom have to us been expounded, that it is their intention to have with us perpetual peace in such form and manner as was taken between our forefather of happy memory, Edward, formerly King of England, (on whom God have mercy!) and Robert the Bruce, then his adversary of Scotland. We command that, for this reason, you cause search to be made in our treasury or elsewhere, where you think to find any record of the said peace or of other peaces or truces made between the said two kingdoms. And all

the records and evidences that you may be able to find, that you, our treasurer, and the keeper of our privy seal, cause them to be conveyed to us in all possible haste; and all the money that you can borrow upon our jewels or other our goods whatsoever being under your keeping, or what money by other means you can make to our aid, you, our said treasurer, cause to be conveyed to us without fail. And this omit not, as we trust in you.

Given under our seal at our city of York, the fourth day of July, 1400.

And the subject touching the said peace keep ye very secret, until ye be honoured with another despatch.

The King to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London.
A.D. 1401.[1]

Whereas the Venerable Father Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England and legate of the Apostolic see, by the consent and assent of the bishops his coadjutors and of his suffragan brethren, as also of his clergy of the whole province, in provincial council assembled,—the course of law required on this behalf being observed in all points,—hath by a definitive sentence pronounced and declared a manifest heretic William Sautre, formerly a chaplain, who had been condemned for heresy, and the same William had abjured it by formal oath, and has again fallen into the aforesaid heresy. And the same archbishop hath decreed that he

[1] MS. Records in the Tower of London. Translated from the Latin.

should be degraded, and hath degraded him in every deed from all clerical prerogative and privilege on that account. And hath further decreed that the same William be given over to the secular court, and hath so given him over, according to the laws and canons set forth on this behalf. And whereas Holy mother church hath nothing that she can do beyond this, in the foresaid case.

We therefore, zealous for justice and revering the Catholic faith; willing to uphold and protect Holy church and the laws and liberties of the same, and to pluck up by the roots heresies, and errors of this sort, and to cast them forth from our kingdom of England, as far as in us lieth, and to punish heretics so convicted by condign punishment; and considering that such heretics convicted and condemned in the form aforesaid, according to law divine and human, and canonical institutes, and in this behalf, as a matter of course, ought to be burned by fire: command you most strictly and positively enjoin, that the beforenamed William, now being in your custody, be committed to the flame in some public and open place, within the liberty of the aforesaid city, the reasons above stated being published in the presence of the people. And that you cause the same to be burnt with fire in every deed, by way of abhorrence of such a crime and as a manifest example for other Christians. And this, to your instant peril, omit ye by no means whatever.

Witness ourself at Westminster, the 26th day of February.

Henry IV. to the Council.[1]

Dated at Worcester, 8th June, 1401, on the King's behalf.

Reverend Fathers in God, and our very dear and well-beloved, we greet you very often, and let you know, that your letters by our messenger sent to us make mention of other, our letters, which we have lately sent to you, to make ready all things necessary for the delivery and restitution of our very beloved cousin, the Queen,[2] and by which our other letters, we have certified to you of our determination to be at our city of Worcester, on Sunday last, on our road to the quarters of Wales, by reason of the late insurrection there of our rebels, upon which two matters you have signified to us your good advice and opinion, for which we thank you with our whole heart.

With regard to the first of these, we ought to have written to our well-beloved son, the Prince, and to others who have in their keeping any jewels which ought to be delivered with our said cousin. However, we will you to know that we shall send to our said son that, if there be any the said jewels, he will cause them to be sent in all haste possible to you, to our city of London, where we expect to be in our person, if God please, before the de-

[1] Cotton MSS. Cleop. F. III. f. 17. Translated from the Anglo-Norman.

[2] Isabella of Valois, the widow of Richard II. Henry had seized all the queen's jewels, and divided them amongst his children. These he desires in this letter to be returned to her, but this intention was never carried into effect.

parture of our said cousin, the queen; and we will cause to be there delivered the other of the said jewels which we and our children have in our keeping.

And touching the second matter contained in your said letter, about our going into our said country of Wales, wherein you have signified your opinion .....[1] that, considering the power of the said rebels was not so great as it was heretofore reported, and also that the people of our said country of Wales are but of little reputation; besides, it seemeth good to us not to go thither in person, but by one of our Lords to do punishment on our said rebels; and that it would be very necessary that ourself should come to you, in order to arrange upon the matters which will be reported to you by our very dear cousin, the Earl of Northumberland, Constable of England, touching the marches of Scotland, and by our ambassadors returned from the marches of Calais, and upon other matters touching our duchy of Guienne, and our land of Ireland. We will you to know that, whereas before our coming to our aforesaid city of Worcester, we had news from day to day from our said country of Wales, that our said rebels were mustering in great number, and of a letter of Owen Glendower,[1] of

[1] The MS. is here defective.

[2] Or Glendowrdy, as it is in the original, and which ought perhaps to have been retained, had not Shakespeare so fully established the other form in the minds of all. This singular adventurer had been brought up to the study of the law—had afterwards waited on the Earl of Arundel as esquire, and served the King in Ireland, before he attempted to claim his descent in a right line from the ancient Princes of Wales. Shake-

which we send the copy ..... all the roads by which they came from all parts... We were informed that the number of the said our rebels was greater, and that greater peril would arise therefrom, if they should not be effectually resisted; and in consideration thereof, it seemed to us very expedient to go thither in person; .... for we would not that they should enter our kingdom, and oppress our subjects, to the great discredit of ourself; which God forbid!

Afterwards, on our arrival at our said city of Worcester, we had more certain news, that the said our rebels are departed, of whom some have been taken and punished, and, as for the others, we have taken order, by the advice of our said constable, and of other earls, lords, and knights, in whose discretion we have much affiance,[1] that they would in such case give counsel to our honour. And such our determination will, within short time, be reported to you, by our said constable, and our dear squire, John Curzon, bearers hereof, whom herein we will you to believe; and also we send to you our very

speare makes him adopting other attributes, which were likely to have their full weight with a people so superstitious as the Welsh:

"Give me leave
To tell you once again, that, at my birth,
The front of Heaven was full of fiery shapes;
The goats ran from the mountains, and the herds
Were strangely clamorous to the frighted fields.
These signs have mark'd me extraordinary,
And all the courses of my life do show
I am not in the roll of common men."

[1] Trust, confidence.

dear cousin, the earl of the Scotch marches, with whom we will you to treat of certain matters, through the information of the said constable: and among other, all delay apart, that you cause to be provided two hundred marks, and deliver them to our said constable, to be by him sent to the castle of Loghmaban before the next Feast of Saint John, as we confide in you.

Reverend Fathers-in-God, and our very dear and very beloved, may the Holy Ghost have you in his keeping!

Given under our signature at the aforesaid city of Worcester, the 8th day of June.

Henry IV. to his Privy Council.[1]

Very Reverend Fathers-in-God, and our very dear and trusty: We greet you often, and let you to know, that, since our departure from you, we have had inspection of the letters of the king of Denmark, lately brought to us, by the Honourable Father-in-God the Bishop of Bangor and our beloved Esquire John Perault our messengers, just now returned to us; and these letters being well considered, and especially an article touching the desire which we and the grandees and the people of our kingdom had, that the marriage should take place between the said king and our very dear and beloved daughter Philippa (which article the king likewise hath in turn spoken to in his said letters:) Cer-

[1] Cotton MSS. Nero, B. iii., f. 23. Translated from the Anglo-Norman.

tainly, it seemeth to us, in our opinion, that the answer which we should make to the said king, according to what you and ourself have conferred together thereon, could not be passed over honourably nor reasonably, without giving them good and just cause to reject quite and absolutely this marriage. And we think truly, that, if you had seen the letters, you would have been induced to give him another answer more suitable and acceptable to him than you have yet agreed upon, without infringing your decision and without contradicting what we had promised him expressly by our other letters sent by the advice and decision of our counsel. And therefore we have caused to be made a copy of our letter; the which it seemeth to us is reasonable and corresponding to his own; which copy we send to you by the honourable Father-in-God the Bishop of Bath, with the said letters of the king, in order to peruse them. And we pray you very dearly, that hereon you will be pleased to give us your sage counsel, to the preservation of our own estate and that of the kingdom: and thus fail ye not, as we confide in you.

Given under our signet, at our Castle of Windsor, the 28th day of April, 1402.

Henry Prince of Wales to the Count of Monte Alegre.[1]

Henry the first-born of the King of England and France, Prince of Wales, to the noble and powerful Lord

[1] Harl. MSS. 431, Art. 19, Translated from the Latin. It appears worthy of insertion as a document of some interest connected

Henry Count of Monte Alegre, our friend sincerely beloved, greeting and continued abundance of affection. Noble and mighty sir, friend dearly beloved, your friendship being to us dear, we let you to know, that our most revered lord and father is just now writing, and ourself also, to the most serene and powerful prince the King of Castile and Leon his nephew and my very dear cousin, in behalf of the order of saint John of Jerusalem; entreating his serene highness most humbly that,—by reason of the schisms now reigning in the church of God —the revenues have been withdrawn, for the present, from the aforesaid convent in the realms, lands, and dominions subject to himself, which have been wont to be really and truly paid, the schism notwithstanding, to the aforesaid convent for the defence of the Catholic Faith (which is one and the same)—that he will deign to exhort and to cause each and every subject to his power, who withhold the pensions and revenues from the same, to pay them in *bonâ fide*, and to satisfy them touching the arrearages.

Wherefore we have thought good, by these presents, to entreat you earnestly, in the name of that friendship dear to us, that you will be pleased to interpose your solicitation and good offices with the aforesaid king personally and his council, that the said convent may obtain the effectual and happy consummation of their desire, according to the contents of these letters of our said very revered father and ourself, addressed on this matter to

with the history of monastic institutions and the struggles regarding them which were prevalent about this period.

the said very high and mighty prince. In the doing of which, you will acquire great merit to your own soul, and do a common service and profit to all christendom, as well as to our very revered lord and father and also to ourself very singular pleasure.

The Prince of Wales to his Father.[1]

26th June, 1404.

My very dread and sovereign lord and father, in the most humble and obedient manner that I know or am able, I commend myself to your high majesty, desiring every day your gracious blessing, and sincerely thanking your noble highness for your honourable letters, which you were lately pleased to send to me, written at your castle of Pontefract, the 21st day of this present month of June. By which letters I have been made acquainted with the great prosperity of your high and royal estate; —which is to me the greatest joy that can fall to my lot in this world. And I have taken this very highest pleasure and entire delight at the news, of which you were pleased to certify me. First, the speedy arrival of my very dear cousin, the Earl of Westmoreland, and of William Clifford, to your highness; and secondly, the arrival of the despatches from your adversary of Scotland and other great men of his kingdom, by virtue of your safe-conduct, for the good of both the kingdoms: which God of his mercy grant! and that you may ac-

[1] MS. Bibl. Cotton, Cleop. F. iii. f. 476.

complish all your honourable designs, to his pleasure, to your honour, and the welfare of your kingdom: as I have firm reliance in Him that is omnipotent, that you will do.

My most dread and sovereign lord and father, at your high command in other your gracious letters, I have removed with my small household to the city of Worcester; and at my request, there is come to me, with a truly good heart, my very dear and beloved cousin, the Earl of Warwick with a fine retinue at his own very heavy expenses: so he well deserves thanks from you for his good will at all times.

And whether the news from the Welsh be true, and what measures I purpose to adopt on my arrival, as you desire to be informed,—may it please your highness to know that the Welsh have made a descent on Herefordshire, burning and destroying also the country, with very great force, and with a supply of provision for fifteen days. And true it is, that they have made very great havoc on the borders of the said county. But, since my arrival in these parts, I have heard of no further damage from them, God be thanked! But, I am informed for certain, that they are assembled with all their power, and keep themselves together for some important object; and, as it is said, to the said county. For this reason, I have sent for my beloved cousins, my Lord Richard of York and the Earl Marshal, and others the most considerable persons of the counties of that march, to be with me at Worcester, on the Tuesday next after the

date of this letter, to inform me plainly of the government of their districts, and how many men they will be able to bring, if need be; and to give me advice as to what may seem to them best to be done for the safeguard of the aforesaid parts. And, agreeably to their advice, I will do all I possibly can, to resist the rebels and save the English country, as God shall give me grace, ever trusting in your high majesty to remember my poor estate, and that I have not the means of continuing here without the adoption of some other measures for my maintenance, and that the expenses are insupportable to me. And may you thus make an ordinance for me with speed, that I may do good service to your honour and the preservation of my humble estate.

My dread sovereign lord and father, may the all-powerful Lord of Heaven and Earth grant you a blessed and long life in all good prosperity, to your satisfaction!

Written at Worcester, the 26th day of June, 1404.

Your humble and obedient son,

HENRY.

Henry Prince of Wales to his Father.[1]

27th January, 1405.

My very redoubtable and sovereign lord and father, I command me unto you as humbly and obediently with my whole heart as in any way I know or can, always beseeching you for your gracious blessing. My redoubt-

[1] Cotton MSS. Vesp. F. xiii. Art. 16. Translated from the Anglo-Norman. The young prince had recently been sent by the king to sub-

able and sovereign lord and father, may it please your highness to know, that this day I am informed for truth by divers of my spies and by the marchers of this country, that Rees Gethyn and other your rebels of his clan, are making large musterings of people within the country of Budor, and purpose to enter with their forces into the county of Hereford, and the marches round about, in order to lay them waste, if they be not resisted. And my very redoubtable and very sovereign lord and father, may it please the same your highness to know, that the sheriff and sub-sheriff of the said county of Hereford, and the greater part of the gentlemen are at present in London and in other places of England; so that, on account of their absence, the same county is very feeble to resist the malice of the said rebels, if other remedy be not in time provided.

So, I humbly supplicate you, my very redoubtable and sovereign lord and father, that you be pleased to remember so graciously myself your very humble son, and to order that I may in time have such sufficiency of force in my company, that I may be strong enough to resist and chastise your said rebels, and to do you the best service to your honour, according to your gracious commands, to perform and accomplish which I shall be ready and obedient, all my life, according to my little ability.

due the Welsh rebels. We here see him respectfully urging to his royal parent the difficulties which lay in the path of accomplishing the objects of his mission.

My very redoubtable and very sovereign lord and father, I pray the blessed Trinity, that He will deign to grant, of His holy grace, to you a joyous and long life, with a happy accomplishment of all your honourable desires!

Written at your city of Hereford, the 27th day of January by

Your very humble and obedient Son,

HENRY.

Prince Henry to his Father, Henry IV.[1]

March 11, 1405.

My most redoubted and most sovereign lord and father, in my most humble manner that in my heart I can devise, I commend myself to your royal majesty, humbly requesting your gracious blessing.

My most sovereign and redoubted lord and father, I sincerely pray that God will graciously show His miraculous aid towards you in all places: praised be He in all His works! For, on Wednesday, the eleventh day of this present month of March, your rebels of the parts of Glamorgan, Morgannoc, Usk, Netherwent, and Overwent, were assembled to the number of eight thousand men, according to their own account; and they went on

[1] MS. Cotton. Cleop., F. iii., f. 59. The success of the young prince in Wales was sure, but slow. After the battle here described, he reduced, after a long siege, the castle of Lampeder, in Cardiganshire. There is not anything in this paper which will remind the reader of the mad pranks he is represented by Shakespeare to have indulged in.

the said Wednesday, in the morning, and burnt part of your town of Grosmont, within your lordship of Monmouth; and I immediately sent off my very dear cousin, the Lord Talbot, and the small body of my own household, and with them joined your faithful and gallant knights, William Newport and John Greindre, who were but a very small force in all.

But very true it is, that *victory is not in a multitude of people, but in the power of God:* and this was well proved there; and there, by the aid of the blessed Trinity, your people gained the field, and slew of them (by fair account) on the field, some say eight hundred, and some say a thousand, being questioned on pain of death. Nevertheless, whether on such an account it were one or the other, I would not contend.

And, to inform you fully of all that has been done, I send you a person worthy of credit in this case, my faithful servant, the bearer of this letter, who was present at the engagement, and did his duty very satisfactorily, as he does on all occasions. And such amends hath God ordained you for the burning of four houses of your said town! And prisoners there were none taken, excepting one, who was a great chieftain amongst them, whom I would have sent to you, but *he cannot yet ride at his ease.*

And, touching the governance that I purpose to make after this, please your highness to give your sure credence to the bearer of this letter in whatever he shall lay before your highness on my part. And I pray God that He

will always preserve you in joy and honour, and grant me shortly to comfort you with other good news.

Written at Hereford, the said Wednesday, 11th March, at night.

Your very humble and obedient son,

HENRY.[1]

To the King, my most redoubted and soverign lord and father.

The Prince of Wales to the Council.[2]

Very dear and entirely beloved, we greet you much from our whole heart, thanking you very sincerely for the kind attention you have given to our wants during our absence; and we pray you very earnestly the continuance of your good and friendly services, as our trust is in you.

As to news from these parts, if you wish to hear of what has taken place, we were lately informed that Owen Glendower had assembled his forces, and those of other rebels, his adherents, in great numbers, purposing to commit inroads; and, in case of resistance to any of his plans, on the part of the English, to come to battle

[1] It appears from the same MS., that the king forwarded a copy of this letter to his council, with a note, in the course of which he says, "We beg you will notify these tidings to our very dear and faithful friends, the mayor and good people of our city of London, in order that they may derive consolation from them, together with us, and praise our Creator for them. May He always have you in His holy keeping!"

[2] Cotton MSS. from the Anglo-Norman. The present letter displays considerable promptitude of action on the part of the prince, although the destructive principle seems to have been carried out most fully, even for the fifteenth century.

with them: and so he boasted to his own people. Wherefore we took our men, and went to a place of the said Owen, well built, which was his chief mansion, called Saghern, where we thought we should have found him, if he wished to fight, as he said. And, on our arrival there, we found no person; so we caused the whole place to be set on fire, and many other houses around it, belonging to his tenants. And then we went straight to his other place of Glyndourdy, to seek for him there. There we burnt a fine lodge in his park, and the whole country round; and we remained there all that night. And certain of our people sallied forth, and took a gentleman of high degree of that country, who was one of the said Owen's chieftains. This person offered five hundred pounds for his ransom, to save his life, and to pay that sum within two weeks. Nevertheless, that was not accepted, and he was put to death; and several of his companions, who were taken the same day, met with the same fate.

We then proceeded to the commore[1] of Edernyon, in Merionethshire, and there laid waste a fine and populous country. Thence we went to Powys; and there being in Wales a want of provender for horses, we made our people carry oats with them; and we tarried there for ——— days. And, to give you fuller information of this expedition, and all other news from these parts at present, we send to you oür well-beloved esquire, John De Waterton, to whom you will be pleased to give entire faith and credence in what he shall report to you,

[1] Commore, *i. e.* place or dwelling. Commoror, Lat.

on our part, with respect to the above-mentioned affair.

And may our Lord have you always in His holy keeping!

Given under our signet, at Shrewsbury, the 15th day of May.

The King Henry V. to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, 1413.[1]

The King, &c., greeting. Inasmuch as we have been given to understand, that certain priests, not privileged by law for this purpose, nor licensed by the diocesan of the place, nor permitted by the church, who are said to be of this new sect of the Lollards,[2] have been preaching in public places within the aforesaid city, and in the suburbs and vicinity thereof, in order to excite and win over some, who are ill disposed to the Catholic faith; and the doctrine of holy mother church; and by their own rashness, and contrary to the laws and ordinances of the church, they have preached, nay, rather have profaned the Word of God; or, at least, under pretext of preaching, they have in such places been emboldened to propagate discord among our people and the pestiferous seeds of Lollardism and evil doctrine, after the manner of preachers; and as some of our people of our said city and its vicinity, under pretence of hearing such preaching,

[1] MSS. at the Rolls' House, Chancery Lane, translated from the Latin.

[2] This was the name given to the followers of our first Reformer, Wickliffe.

have assembled to those places, and have congregated together in large multitudes; and, in consequence, murmurs and seditions have in part arisen, and will probably arise, to the disturbance and no small marring of our peace, unless a remedy be more quickly applied to abolish such meetings and pull down such conventicles:

We, desiring especially to provide for the defence of the Catholic faith, the laws and ordinances of the church, and for preserving our peace, command you, that you cause proclamation publicly to be made, within our city aforesaid, and its suburbs, in every place where you shall find it expedient:

That no chaplains, of whatever degree, state, or condition they may be, shall henceforward hold, cherish, affirm, preach, or defend such opinions, heresy or error, contrary to the decision of holy mother church; and that none other our lieges and subjects in this matter adhere to or abet them, or lend them counsel or assistance, under penalty of imprisonment of their bodies, and the forfeiture of all their goods and chattels, to our will and disposal. We further command and positively enjoin you that, if henceforth you shall be able to find within your bailiwick any such chaplains preaching and affirming publicly or secretly, contrary to the aforesaid rescript, or any other our lieges and subjects making conventicles and meetings, or receiving the same chaplains, or being under probable or great suspicion concerning the premises, or in any way counselling, favouring, or helping such chaplains in this matter, then arrest ye them without delay, and commit them to prison, there to remain, until they shall obey

the commands of the diocesan in whose diocese they may have preached, and it shall have been certified unto you accordingly by the same diocesan.

And, that also in the places aforesaid, ye cause it to be proclaimed, in our behalf, that no such chaplain presume hereafter to preach, contrary to the constitutions of the province published, without license, sought and obtained as a qualified literate; and that none of our lieges henceforward hear the same chaplains so preaching, or be present at such preachings on any pretence alleged, under the punishment and forfeiture aforesaid; and that all and every our lieges and subjects of our city and suburbs aforesaid comply with, obey, and attend to you and any of you, in the carrying out of the premises, under penalty of imprisonment.

Witness the King, at Westminster, the 21st day of August, 1413.[1]

Henry V. to the Sheriff of Kent.[2]

The king to the sheriff of Kent, greeting: Whereas we are more fully informed, and it is notoriously and openly discovered, that very many our subjects of our kingdom of England, vulgarly called Lollards, have, by the agency, instigation, encouragement, abetting, and upholding of John Oldcastle,[3] knight, who hath lately

[1] Similar letters were forwarded to all the sheriffs and mayors of the several cities and towns of England.

[2] MS. Tower Records. Translated from the Latin.

[3] Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, was not only ennobled by his birth and dignities, but much more by his wit, eloquence, learning, and good sense, which, accompanied by a great natural courage and an honest

stood condemned of heresy, and is declared and pronounced a manifest heretic, according to the canonical decrees published on that behalf, have preached and caused to be preached divers opinions manifestly contrary to the Catholic faith; and have falsely and traitorously, contrary to their due allegiance, contemplated our death, because that we do take part against them and such their opinions, even as a true Christian prince, and as we are bound by the chain of our oath; and, whereas they have formed many other designs to the destruction as well of the Catholic faith as of the estate of the lords and nobles of our kingdom, as well spiritual as temporal; and they have purposed to hold various meetings and other unlawful cabals, with a view to perpetrate their abominable project in this behalf, and desist not from daily plotting (as far as in them lies) to the probable destruction of our own person, and of the estate of the lords and nobles aforesaid; we, considering in what manner certain such Lollards and others, who imagined and designed our death and the other mischiefs and misdeeds aforesaid, have been taken for the before-named reason, and stand adjudged to death for this abominable act and purpose; and wishing to order and provide, in the best and most quiet manner possible, for the avoiding of the effusion of

freedom of mind, accomplished him for such an eminent champion of the truth, especially needed in those times, abounding with vice, error, and ecclesiastical tyranny. In his youth he had heard Wickliffe, the father of the reformation in England, preach; and, for his firm adherence to the doctrines of that sect (opprobriously called Lollards), lost his life by being roasted alive. For further information of this martyr, consult *Bale's History of the Process against Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham*, London, 1545.

Christian blood, and especially that of our lieges whom, on account of our tender and special regard towards them, we desire, with our whole heart's intent, to preserve from the shedding of blood and corporal punishment;

We command you, and positively enjoin, that in each place in your bailiwick, where you shall find it best, you cause to be proclaimed publicly on our behalf, that they, by whose agency, incitement, counsel, or information, the said John shall be taken or arrested, shall receive five hundred marks;[1] and he that shall take or cause to be arrested the same John, one thousand marks, of our free gift, for his labour and his pains in this behalf; and that the citizens, burgesses, and corporation of the cities, boroughs, and other towns, who shall take and arrest the same John, and shall cause him to be brought before us, shall be quit and wholly exonerated for ever from all taxes, tallages,[2] tenths, fifteenths, and other contributions whatever, to us and our heirs hereafter payable; and that we will cause accordingly to be made to them

[1] He was at length arrested in the marches of Wales, after a very obstinate resistance, by Sir Edward Charlton, to whom the king granted a thousand marks for a reward.

[2] Or tailliages. The tailliage was a portion of any man's substance paid by way of tribute. Hearne, in his *Sylloge*, p. 218, has printed a proclamation concerning Oldcastle, in which a thousand marks are offered for his apprehension.—"Our foresaid sovereign liege lord hath granted, and grants, to what man that he be, that takes, or may take, from this day forth, the foresaid Sir John Oldcastle, and keeps and brings him to the king, he shall have and be truly paid a thousand marks of gold, and twenty pounds of sure livelihood yearly, during his life. And if any city, borough, or other town, may take the aforesaid Sir John, and keep him, or bring him to the king, it shall be discharged and made free, that it shall pay neither quinzime, disme, nor tax, during the king's life, though any be granted in this land from thenceforward."

our letters patent under our great seal; and that in doing their own concerns, and in any lawful and honourable transactions whatever to be done towards ourself, they shall find and have ourself more than usually gracious.

Witness the King, at Westminster, the 11th day of January, 1414.

Henry V. to the King of France.[1] 1414.

Cousin of France, I greet you. I thank you of your gifts that ye sent unto me, for they be necessary. The sow hath granted me to come with me to your country, and werry[2] and overturn, and make plain field. And I have granted her all that belongeth to her faculty. Also the boar hath made covenant with beasts of my country, to teach them the way to France; that is to say, the white lion of Ireland, the black bull with gilt horns, the boar, the wolf, the dragon, the white boar, the white greyhound, and other moo[3] of their affinity; the which intend to come to the field in France to answer whosoever will come of all parties, with the grace of God. Then I must blow my horn and follow my beasts, and my beasts must follow the chase, and so shall we hunt through all the parts of France. And then I will blow my horn, and relef[4] my hounds; and I trust to God and

[1] MS. Lansd. 762, art. 4. This curious composition is apparently a jocular effusion of the time, when Henry was making preparations to invade France. The names of the animals allude to the armorial bearings of the nobles.

[2] To make war. [3] More. [4] To let hounds out of the slip.

to our Lady that your mock[1] shall turn you to shame, for ye wot of right I am master of the game. Furthermore, if it be not well, let it be amended by the lords of your council.[2]

Henry V. to the French King.[3] 1414.

Most serene prince, our cousin and adversary,

The two great and noble kingdoms of England and France, formerly brothers, but now divided, had usually been eminent throughout all the world by their triumphs. They combined but for the generous object of enriching and adorning the House of God, to place peace in all her boundaries, to make it flourish within its whole extent, and to join their arms against her adversaries, as against the public enemies. They never encountered them, that they did not happily subdue them. But, alas! this faithful union is vanished; we are fallen into the unhappy condition of Lot and Abraham. The honour of this fraternal friendship is buried; her death and her sepulture have revived Dissension, that old enemy of human nature, which may justly be called the mother of Hatred and of War.

The Sovereign Judge of sovereigns will be our witness one day of the sincere inclination with which we have

[1] Derision.

[2] The last few lines are apparently intended to rhyme, but they are written as prose in the manuscript.

[3] Nicolas's Battle of Agincourt, 1827. A very similar letter, dated the 5th of August, is printed in Hall's Union, fol., Lond., 1548. It has many variations and differences, but scarcely varies in sense or import.

sought peace, and how we have employed prayers and promises to persuade you to it, even by giving up the possession of a state which belongs to us by hereditary right, and which nature would oblige us to preserve for our posterity. We are not so wanting in sense and courage, but that we are resolved at last to fight with all our strength, *even to death.* But as the law of Deuteronomy commands that whoever appears in arms before a town should offer it peace before it is besieged, we have, even up to the present time, done all which our rank allows peaceably to recover the possession of that which belongs to us by legitimate succession, and to reunite to our crown that which you wrongfully and by violence possess: so much so, that, from your refusing justice, we may rightfully have recourse to the force of arms.

Our honour, however, and the testimony of our conscience, oblige us once more, in going against you, to demand the reason of your refusal, and to exhort you, in the name of the merciful bowels of Jesus Christ, to do us justice, and to say to you that which He teaches: *Friend, give me that which thou owest me.—Amice, redde quod debes, et fiat nobis ipsius Dei Summi nutu.*[1]

To avoid a deluge of human blood, restore to us our inheritance, which you unjustly detain, or render us, at least, that which we have so many times demanded by our ambassadors. Only the love and fear of God, and the advantage of peace, have made us contented with so little; and we were willing, on that account, to remit

[1] And be it done unto us, according to the pleasure of the Sovereign God.

fifty thousand crowns of that which we have been offered in marriage, to show that we are more inclined to peace than to avarice; that we prefer the title which our father has left us to those to which we have legitimate pretensions by representation from our forefathers, and that we are disposed to lead an innocent life with your fair and noble daughter, Katherine, our very dear cousin, than to enrich ourselves with the treasure of iniquity, to adore the idol of riches, and to extend and increase our crown (which God forbid!) to the prejudice of our conscience.

Given under our hand and seal, in our town of Southampton, upon the sea-side, the 28th of July.

Henry V. to the Dauphin of France.[1] *A.D.* 1415.

Henry, by the grace of God, King of France and England, Lord of Ireland, to the high and mighty prince, the Dauphin of Vienne, our cousin, eldest son of the very powerful prince, our cousin and adversary of France.

Whereas, from reverence to God, and to avoid the shedding of human blood, we have, many times and

[1] MS. Cotton. Calig. D. v. Translated from the Anglo-Norman. The challenge was not accepted, and it is generally considered Henry alluded to this circumstance a short time afterwards in his speech to the heralds at Monchy la Gauche.—"If," said he, "my enemies attempt to intercept me, it will be at their peril. I shall not seek them; but I will not move a step quicker or slower to avoid them. I could, however, have wished that they had adopted other counsels, instead of determining to shed the blood of Christians."

in many ways, sued and sought for peace, and have not been able to obtain it; and notwithstanding this, our desire of having it increaseth more and more. And well considering that our wars occasion the death of men, the desolation of countries, the lamentations of women and children, and so many evils in the general, as every good Christian ought to mourn and have pity on them, and especially ourself whom this matter chiefly affects; and that we ought to use all diligence to find every means that one can, to avoid the ills and distresses above-mentioned, in order to acquire the grace of God and the praise of mankind. And as having taken all thought and advice herein, it seemeth to us, (considering it hath pleased God to visit with infirmity our said cousin your father) that the remedy rests upon ourself and you. And to the end that every one may know that we on our part will not withdraw from it, we offer you to decide this our quarrel, with God's grace, by combat between our person and yours.

And if it seemeth to you that you cannot accede thereto, by reason of the great concern which you suppose our said cousin your father hath in it; we declare unto you that, if you are willing to listen to it and to carry it into effect, we are well pleased to suffer our said cousin, from reverence to God, and because he is a sacred personage, to have and enjoy what he hath at present, for the term of his life; whatever happen between ourself and you, as it shall be appointed by his council, ours, and yours. Thus, if God giveth us the victory, that the crown of France, with its appurtenances, as our right,

shall instantly be surrendered unto us without demur, after his decease. And hereto all the lords, and estates of the realm of France to bind themselves in form, as shall be accorded between us.

For it is better, cousin, to determine this war thus between our two persons for ever, than to suffer the infidels, by occasion of our wars, to destroy Christianity, our holy mother church to abide in divisions, and the people of the living God to slaughter one another. And we will pray heartily, as you have so great a desire to avoid this, and to attain to the blessing of peace, that you will not refuse to pursue every means that can be found for attaining this peace. And we hope that no means so good and short as this will be found. And, to the disburthening of our soul and to the burthening of yours, if great evils ensue henceforward, we make you the aforesaid offer; protesting alway, that this our offer, which we make to the honour and in fear of God and for the above causes, is of our own mere motion, without our loyal kinsfolk, councillors, and subjects at present around us, having presumed, in so high a matter, to advise us. Nor can it at any future time be alleged to our prejudice, or to the prejudice of our right and title which we now have to the crown aforesaid with its appurtenances, nor to the good right and title which we now have to other our lands and heritages on this side of the sea, nor to our heirs and successors, if this our offer does not take full effect between ourself and you in the manner aforesaid.

Given under our privy seal, at our town of Harfleur, the 16th day of September, 1415.

Henry V. to the Mayor and Aldermen of London.[1]

22nd September, 1415.

Very dear, trusty, and well-beloved,

We greet you very often, and make known to you for your comfort, that we are in very good health of body, thanks to God who increases it to us! And, after our arrival at this side, we came before our town of Harfleur, Saturday, the 17th day of August last, laying siege thereto; as we have written to you heretofore by our letters to you sent. And by the good diligence and activity of our faithful lieges being now in our company, and by the force of our munition and other operations, the people who were within our town made great importunity to have immediate parley with us; and notwithstanding that we had fully purposed to have made assault on the same town on Wednesday, the 18th day of September. And those within the town had so learnt, and made greater importunity and means than they had ever made before, to have a treaty with us. And, in order to avoid the effusion of human blood on both sides, we were inclined to listen to their offer, and upon that, we gave them answer and sent them our final determination, to which they agreed.

Then we gave thanks to God; for we thought that they would not have so readily assented to the said determination. And on the same Wednesday there came, at

[1] MSS. in the Archives of the city of London, at Guildhall. Translated from the Anglo-Norman. Harfleur surrendered after a five weeks' siege. The present letter is a very curious account of its surrender by Henry himself, and has never yet been published.

our command, out of the said town the Sieurs de Saucourt, de Couteville, Haukeville, and other lords and knights, who held the government of the town, and delivered hostages, of whom some were lords and knights, and others, notable burgesses, sworn upon the body of our Saviour, that they would make full deliverance of our said town, and submit their persons and goods to our grace, without any condition, if, by Sunday then next ensuing at one of the clock in the afternoon, they should not be rescued by battle to us given by our adversary of France, or by his eldest son the dauphin.

And hereupon, we gave our letters of safe-conduct to the said Sieur de Haukeville and others, to the number of twelve persons, to go to our said adversary and his said son, in order to declare unto them the said treaty; which Sieur de Haukeville with the others of his company returned at eight of the clock before noon to our said city, without any rescue offered by our said adversary and his son, or by any other on their side.

And the chief men of the town have fully and fairly delivered themselves into our hands; and all those within submitted to our grace without any condition, as above was said. Praises to our Creator! And we have put into our said town our very dear uncle the Earl of Dorset, and have made him the head thereof, with a sufficient staff of people, as well men of rank as others. And we will that you humbly render thanks to our Lord the Almighty for this news. And we hope, by Divine Power and the good service and diligence of our faithful lieges on this side, to do our duty in future, in order to

recover our right in these parts; and we will also, that, by the comers-between you, ye certify to us from time to time the news on your side. And may our Lord have you in his holy keeping!

Given under our signet, near our town of Harfleur, the 22nd of the said month of September.

Letter of Proclamation of Henry V. to his Soldiers, before the Battle of Agincourt.[1]

October, 1415.

So it is, my valiant Englishmen! We must either conquer or die, for victory or death is all the present prospect! But death is the least you are to suffer, if you be not victorious. No: you are to expect lingering tortures, and the most vile, inhuman usage, from a barbarous enemy, who are so cruel, that your lives cannot satiate their rage; but they have threatened to cut off the thumbs of every one of you, archers, that you may for ever be disabled to draw a bow against them. We must, therefore, fight with a resolution undaunted and invincible. And why should we fear death, or be doubtful of victory, since God, who guards our lives, has given us courage to defend them, and will strengthen us to conquer?

To Him I appeal—the Avenger of injustice! He knows what fair conditions of peace I have so often pro-

[1] Laboureur, Histoire de Charles VI, 1663. This curious and interesting document was originally taken from a Latin contemporary history of the period, and of which there is an early MS. preserved in the library of All Souls' College, Oxford.

posed, to prevent that effusion of blood, which in a few hours will moisten this field of battle; and he knows with what haughty pride they have been rejected. He disdains the intolerable arrogance of our enemies, their presumption in the strength and number of their army, their horrid desires of revenge, which nothing will satisfy, but to see all this plain covered with our dead bodies: and He has determined to make use of our arms to confound them. He knows how the French violated the treaty made in Britanny, and usurped the dominions which belonged to the English kings in France; and that we have made war, not for the proud glory of conquest, or to gratify ambition, but to recover the possessions of our ancestors, and our own just rights.

Therefore, though I have great confidence in your valour, yet that is the least part of my hopes—'tis the assistance of the Almighty which gives me the firmest assurance of victory. And, that the same religious confidence may be excited in your souls, know that, by a remarkable working of divine Providence, our enemies offer us battle on the day which has been appointed in England for the people to implore a blessing on our arms. Know that, while you are fighting, your fathers, your wives, and your children, with lifted eyes and hands, and bended knees, are supplicating the favour of Heaven for your safety and success. If I thought it necessary to raise your courage by examples, I might remind you of the victories of Poictiers and Cressy. They are not only your ancient enemies with whom you are to fight, but they are of the same nation whom your

fathers have so often conquered. Nor be ye disheartened to see their battalions overspread all this field. A multitude there is indeed, but few soldiers; they are a people gathered up in haste; and, excepting the men at arms, the rest are a confused crowd rather than an army. And though they are vastly superior to us in numbers, we shall let them see that we more exceed them in valour, the most important advantage in a battle.[1] They are stronger in horses; but the riders are cowards, and want both the bravery and discipline of soldiers.

You see that I have chosen such ground, that you cannot be surrounded by their numbers, nor overpowered by their cavalry. Proceed we then, my brave countrymen, with confidence in God, and with all hopes that valiant men, resolved to conquer or die, may have in their arms. Let us charge them, in a firm persuasion of victory—victory! since all things presage such favourable success. If you are defeated, having no towns nor cities, nor so much as a fortified camp to secure a retreat, and being exposed to all the rage of a provoked enemy, not one of you must think to return alive into England. But, if we are victorious, as by a noble fury sparkling in your eyes (as I am informed), I know we

[1] We few, we happy few, we band of brothers;
For he, to-day, that sheds his blood with me,
Shall be my brother; be he ne'er so vile,
This day shall gentle his condition—
And gentlemen in England, now a-bed,
Shall think themselves accurs'd they were not here;
And hold their manhoods cheap, while any speaks,
That fought with us upon Saint Crispin's day.

SHAKESPEARE, *Henry V.*, act iv., sc. 3.

shall, you will not only enrich yourselves with the spoils of their camp, where the wealth of so many nations is gathered, to be a reward of the victor; but a kingdom, to which I have an undoubted right, will be conquered, and England, for future ages, shall give laws to France.

Henry V. to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London.[1]

21st June, 1418.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: and do you to understand, that we been in good prosperity of our person, and so be all the estates of our host. Blessed be God, which grant you so to be! And as touching our governance and procedure, since our last departure from Caen, we came afore our town of Bayeux, and won it by a siege. To the which place came to us the Cardinal Ursino, from our holy father the Pope, for to treat for the good of peace betwixt both the realms, and is gone again to Paris, for to diligence[2] there in that same matter; but what end it shall draw to, we wot[3] nought as yet. And after that we had won our said town of Lisieux, we came afore Pont de Larche, and besieged it on that one side of the river of Seine; and upon Monday, the 4th day of the month, we got upon our enemies the passage over the said river; and God, of His mercy, showed so

[1] MSS. in the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London. The date of the year is not given, but the allusion at the end proves it to have been written in 1418. The terrible slaughter mentioned took place on the 12th of June, and spread horror among the opposite faction.

[2] Act with diligence. [3] Know.

for us, and our right, that it was without the death of any man's person of ours, albeit that our enemies assembled with great power nigh the same river, for to have let and defended[1] us the same passage. And then we laid our men afore the castle; and, after that, they within the garrison sent for us, to deliver unto us the town and the said castle of Pont de Larche, the 20th day of the said month, unless they were rescued that day by battle, to be given to us by our adversary, other[2] his son. The which thing we granted, and took thereupon hostage; and so been the said castle and town yolden[3] and delivered into our hands.

Whereof and of all other our good speed, that our Lord of His mercy sloweth unto us, we thank Him lowly with all our heart, as we have great cause, and so have you, and all our liegemen.

Furthermore, we sent a poursuivant of ours to the Duke of Burgundy, to know whether he would keep truce taken betwixt him and us, or no; and the same poursuivant is come again, and hath fully informed us, the said duke casteth him[4] to give us the battle; and so we hold him our full enemy, and he is now at Paris. Of the death of the Earl of Armagnac, and of the slaughter that hath been at Paris, we hold no need to write unto you, for we trow you have full knowledge thereof. And God have you in his keeping.

Given under our signet, at our said town of Pont de Larche, the 21st day of June.

To our right trusty the Mayor, &c.

[1] To have hindered and beaten us off. [2] Or.
[3] Yielded. [4] Is determined.

Henry V. to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of London.[1]

17th September, 1419.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: and we thank you with all our heart, for the good will and service that we have always found in you hitherto, and specially of your kind and notable proffer of an aid, the which ye have granted unto us, of your own good motion, as our brother of Bedford, and our Chancellor of England, have written unto us, showing a good example to all the remnant[2] of our subjects in the land. And so, we pray you, as our trust is, ye will for to continue. And, as to the said aid, the which ye have concluded to do unto us now at this time, we pray you specially that we may have it at such term, and in such wise, as our brother of Bedford shall more plainly declare unto you in our behalf; letting you fully weet[3] that we have written to all our friends and allies through Christendom, for to have succours and help of them against the same time that our brother shall declare to you, the which, when they hear of the arrival and purvey[4] that ye, and other of our subjects make at home in help of us, shall give them great courage to haste their coming unto us much the rather, and not fail; as we trust fully.

Wherefore, we pray you hereby that ye would do, touching the said aid, as our said brother shall declare unto you, on our behalf, considering that so necessary

[1] MSS. in Archives of the Corporation of the City of London. The City was generally the foremost to assist the King in the heavy outlays required for the Continental wars.

[2] Remainder. [3] Know. [4] Arrangement.

nor so acceptable a service as ye may do, and will do, as we trust unto you at this time, ye might never have done unto us, since our wars in France began; for we trust fully to God's might and mercy, with good help of you, and of our land, to have a good end of our said war in a short time, and for to come home unto you, to the great comfort and singular joy of our heart, as God knoweth; the which, He grant us to his plaisance, and have you ever in his keeping.

Given under our signet, in our town of Pontoise, the sixteenth day of August.

And weeteth[1] that the sixteenth day of August departed from us at Pontoise, our letters to you, directed in this same tenour; and because it is said the bearer of them is, by our enemies, taken into Crotoir. We renew them here at Troyes, the Castle, the seventeenth day of September.

Henry V. to his Chancellor.[1]

Worshipful father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: and we will and pray you and also charge you, that as we trust unto you, and as you look to have our good lordship, ye see and ordain that good heed be taken unto the sure keeping of our French prisoners within our realm, and in especial, the Duke of Orleans, and after, to the Duke of Bourbon, for their escaping, and principally the said Duke of Orleans, might never have been so harmful nor prejudicial to us,

[1] Know. [2] Cottonian MSS., original.

as it might be now, if any of them escaped; and namely the said Duke of Orleans, which God forbid!

And therefore, as we trust, you seeth that Robert Waterton, for no trust, fair speech, nor promises, that might be made unto him, nor for none other manner of cause, be so blinded by the said duke, that he be the more reckless of his keeping; but that, in eschewing of all perils as may befall, he take as good heed unto the sure keeping of his person as possible.

And inquire if Robert of Waterton use any reckless government about the keeping of the said duke, and writeth to him thereof, that it may be amended. And God have you in his keeping!

Given under our signet, at Gizors, the first day of October, 1419.

To the right Worshipful Father in God, and right trusty and well-beloved, the Bishop of Durham,[1] our Chancellor of England.

Part of a Letter of King Henry V.[2]

Furthermore, I will that you commune with my brother, with the Chancellor, with my cousin of Northumberland, and my cousin of Westmoreland; and that ye set a good ordinance for my north marches, and especially for the Duke of Orleans, and for all the remnant of my prisoners of France, and also for the King of

[1] Thomas Langley, who was elected Bishop of Durham in the year 1406.

[2] MS. Cott. Vespas, F. iii. f. 5. There is no date to this document, but it was probably written in 1419.

Scotland. For, as I am secretly informed by a man of right notable estate in this land, that there hath been a man of the Duke of Orleans in Scotland, and concerted with the Duke of Albany, that this next summer he shall bring in the manrent [1] of Scotland to stir up what he may: and also that there should be found ways to the having away specially of the Duke of Orleans, and also of the King, as well as of the remnant of my foresaid prisoners, that God do defend.

Wherefore I will that the Duke of Orleans be kept still within the Castle of Pomfret, without going to Robert's Place, or to any other disport;[2] for it is better he lack his disport, than we were deceived, of all the remnant: do as ye thinketh.

Henry V. to Charles King of France.[3]

To the most serene Prince Charles, by the grace of God, our very dear cousin of France; Henry, by the same grace of God, king of England and of France, health and peace to be observed in our days.

Most serene prince, and very dear cousin, our glory is the witness of our conscience, that we have endeavoured, from our accession to our crown, by the ardent passion that we have had for the love of Him, who is the author of peace, to reconcile the difference between us and your people, to chase and banish for ever that sad division,

[1] Power. [2] Amusement.

[3] Laboureur, Histoire de Charles VI. Roy de France, fol. Par. 1663. Translated by Sir H. Nicolas. This and the next letter appear to have been written in 1420, shortly before the peace at Troyes, and Henry's marriage with Catharine.

mother of so many misfortunes, cause of the misery of so many men, and of the loss of so many souls which have been shipwrecked in the slaughter of war. We have sent to you many times, and again very lately we despatched, with that happy object, our ambassadors, who will have declared on our part, to your serenity, that our intention is to propose to you two things; the first, to do justice to us of the rights to us and to our Crown belonging for so long a time, that we could say that it is entire ages since we have been deprived of them: the other concerns our marriage with our dear cousin Katherine, your daughter; for which all that is wanting is her consent and yours.

The said ambassadors, after the requisite declarations in an affair of this importance, have made divers propositions to you; and, in conclusion, they have given up the articles, of which we assure you,[1] and to which, Heaven is our witness, we would not by any means have listened, if the service of God, and the advantages of peace, were not dearer and of more consideration than our private interest. It is true that the lords of our kingdom of England, (without whose advice we do not determine upon important affairs) pretend to favour our intentions in this matter; but, in conscience, there is not one among them who is satisfied with so little.

We have seen, by writing, sealed with your seal, the

[1] Nous *vous* assurons; we assure you, viz. that they have given up such articles. In this sentence the meaning appears to be to this purport: "and, to bring the treaty to a successful conclusion, they have given up, &c." Henry having on this occasion ceded to the French king Normandy and Angiers.

answer which you have given to this demand; and our ambassadors having moreover assured us, we know thereby that you have granted nothing beyond the two principal objects of their mission, because they had not full power to treat. But, as your serenity informed us that you should despatch a solemn embassy to treat with us upon these two points, and of the circumstances attendant thereon, we are surprised that the term is expired without our hearing any news of their voyage, or even of the names of those whom you intend for that negociation; and the time of the truce being nearly at an end, we shall he truly obliged, by the disposition which it is our duty to maintain, and for the welfare of our people, to follow their interests, and to acquit ourselves of the oath by which we are bound.

It is then for your serenity to endeavour seriously to complete the treaty which is begun; and we pray you, with that object, speedily to send your deputies; so that we do not uselessly spend the time which has been taken for so great a good, upon which depends the general felicity of the two crowns. We assure you, for ourself, that we desire nothing with more zeal than that peace, to which we shall contribute so warmly, that we protest before God and all men, that we prefer, on this occasion, the public advantage to that by which we are personally affected; and also, that our heart is so opposed to the cruelties of war, and has so much horror at the effusion of Christian blood, that it depends on you only that we establish a good and perpetual peace between us and our successors, to the honour and praise of Him who hath

chosen us for the government of two such great states, and to whom we shall have to render an account of their conduct, that we increase their prosperity by peace; and, above all, God forbid that they should ever be disunited. Do not let us be the imitators of the shepherds of Lot and Abraham, between whom avarice excited discord. Render us a justice proportionate to the loss which we suffer, and do not allow either of us to be borne away by the passion of dominion, or by the evil counsels of minds, enemies of peace. We shall have to answer before God for that, which we retain by force, of the property of another, and more particularly for the prevention of this peace. The thoughts and means He has given us are marks of a grace which we ought not to abuse; and, if we neglect to render ourselves worthy, we shall become amenable to His justice, for having resisted the inspirations with which He has endowed us for the purpose of establishing the tranquillity of the people under our government.

Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the 7th of the month of April.

Henry V. to Charles King of France.[1]

To the most serene Prince Charles, by the grace of God, our very dear cousin of France, Henry, by the same grace, king of England and of France, health, and power to direct our feet in the way of peace.

Most serene prince, our very dear cousin, we have

[1] Labourcur, Histoire de Charles VI.

seen the letters from the very illustrious prince, your very dear uncle, the Duke of Berry; by which we have perceived, that you intend soon to despatch to us a solemn embassy on your part for the benefit of peace, of which we pray God to give us a happy conclusion, to His glory. We have also seen the copy of the safe-conduct which you desired for the ambassadors, specified with their names, and the term for which you wish the prolongation of the passports, and we are sufficiently content with the number of persons. As for the period, we have shortened it, not believing that so many days were required; but, if on their arrival they bring us good news, if they proceed frankly, and if we find their intention right and their powers sufficiently ample upon the two principles of justice which we have asked, and of the alliance which we have proposed, we will extend it as far as be necessary.

This abridgment of useless days should not make your serenity believe that we are therefore the less disposed to the conclusion of peace: so far from that being our intention, we have done it to prevent that delay (the enemy of such an affair) may not retard it, nor cool our desires for so great a benefit. We passionately wish it; but if it cannot be obtained, we should be sorry to have uselessly consumed the time, which would assist the prosecution of our right. We appeal to the tribunal of Divine Justice, where we shall both have to appear, to render a most exact account of our conduct on the subject of this pacific overture; that the blindness of avarice, that glory, that vanity, or the pretext of

worldly honours, and that the vain desire to reign, can in nothing divert us from our good intentions.

We shall propose nothing to you which we have not a right conscientiously to demand; and we advise you, most serene prince, with all sincerity and by a pure love, to entertain those happy thoughts of peace, which you have always observed from your most tender youth, and not to neglect or abandon them in so mature and advanced an age. Reflect upon the years that you have passed; think of eternity, in which they must terminate; and bear in memory the noble actions and the triumphs which ancient ages have seen arise from the union of the kingdoms of England and France, as also the massacre and slaughter which their divisions have caused, and how much of Christian blood they have caused to be shed, which caused such sufferings to Jesus Christ for its redemption.

If the prophet of the prophets, the great Jeremiah, lived to-day, what tears would he shed upon the torrents of blood that have inundated so many plains, after having wept over the miserable state of a single city! And what would he not say of the misfortune of so cruel an hostility between two crowns? It is this which obliges me to choose a favourable time; it is this which constrains me to knock with importunity at the door of your conscience, to invite you to peace. It is a long time since I have knocked, and that you have deferred to open it to me. And in the mean time the quarrel increases; and they form pernicious designs of invasion, who support schism in the church, and who foment the

crimes of this world. The Pope even has made a divorce from the Universal Church; he, whom it was hoped would redeem it, and re-establish Israel; and so many years of possession have rather induced him to resist the union than submit to it. This Holy Sion, formerly without rust and without spot, has lost all hope of regaining her ancient liberty, if the princes do not join together to deliver her from the yoke of her bondage.

Let us not, therefore, obstinately persist in encroaching one upon another, nor allow ourselves to be prompted by imaginary pretexts of honour; to debate upon titles and pretensions, so much more condemnable in their vanity, because they serve as obstacles to the most praiseworthy designs. Rather let us undertake, for the glory of God, to assist our desolate mother, which has regenerated us in the light; let us render the truth triumphant over force and violence; let us govern and judge by our conscience, and do for the church that which she should do for us, if she were free from oppression.

Given under our signet, in our palace of Westminster, the 15th of the month of April.

Henry V. to the Duke of Gloucester.[1] 1420.

Right trusty and well-beloved brother, right worshipful father in God, and trusty and well-beloved,

[1] Acts of Privy Council. Henry entered Troyes at the head of sixteen thousand men, and addresses this letter of intelligence to Gloucester, who was then regent in England.

forasmuch that we wot well that your desire were to hear joyful tidings of our good speed:

We signify to you (worshipped be our Lord, that of our labour hath sent us good conclusion.)

Upon Monday, the 20th day of this May, we arrived at this town of Troyes; and on the morrow had a convention betwixt our mother, the Queen of France, and our brother, the Duke of Burgundy (as commissioners of the King of France, our father, for his part), and us in our own person for our part. And the accord of peace perpetual was there sworn by both the said commissioners in the name of our aforesaid father, and semblably by us in our own name.

And the letters thereupon forthwith ensealed under the great seal of our said father to us-ward, and under ours to him-ward, the copy of which letter we send you enclosed in this.

Also, at the said convention, was marriage betrothed betwixt us and our wife, daughter of our aforesaid father, the King of France.[1]

The same to his Viscounts[2] of London.

It is accorded between our father of France and us, that, forasmuch as by the bond of matrimony made for

[1] Monstrelet says, "The princess was very handsome, and had most engaging manners; and it was plainly to be seen that King Henry was desperately in love with her."

[2] Lord Mayor and Aldermen.

the good of peace between us and our dear and most beloved Katherine, the daughter of our said father and of our most dear mother, Isabel, his wife, the said same Charles and Isabel be made our father and mother, therefore them as our father and mother we shall have and worship, as it fitteth such and so worthy a prince and princess to be worshipped, before all other temporal persons of this world.

Also that the said Katherine shall take and have dower in our realm of England, as queens of England hitherward (hitherto) were wont to take and have.[1] That is to say, to the sum of forty thousand crowns, by the year of the which twain algates[2] shall be worth a noble, English money.

Also, if it happen that the said Katherine shall overlive[3] us, she shall take in the realm of France, immediately from our death, twenty thousand francs yearly. Also, that after the death of our said father, and from thenceforward, the crown and realm of France, with all their rights and appurtenances, shall remain and abide and be of us and of our heirs for evermore.[4]

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[1] Had not the hapless widow of Henry IV. been deprived of her dower, under the pretext of her practising sorcery, Katherine the Fair would have remained portionless, so far as any English dower was concerned.

[2] Always. [3] Outlive.

[4] "On Trinity Sunday, June 3rd, the King of England wedded the Lady Katherine at Troyes, *in the parish church near which he lodged.* Great pomp and magnificence were displayed by him and his princes, as if he had been king of the whole world."—*Monstrelet.*

Henry V. to his Chancellor.

22nd May, 1420.

Right trusty and well-beloved brother, right worshipful father-in-God, &c.

Forasmuch as we wot well that your desire were to hear joyful tidings of our good speed touching the conclusion of peace betwixt the two realms, we signify unto you that, worshipped be our Lord, that of our labour hath sent us a good conclusion, upon Monday the 20th day of this month of May, we arrived in this town of Troyes, and on the morrow had a convention betwixt our mother, the Queen of France and our brother the Duke of Burgundy, as commissary of the King of France our father for his part; and the accord of the said peace perpetual was then sworn by both the commissaries in name of our aforesaid father, and semblably by us in our own name; and the letters thereupon forthwith sealed under the great seal of our said father to us-ward, and under ours to him-ward: the copy of which letters we send you closed in these, to the end that ye do the said accord to be proclaimed in our City of London and through our kingdom that all our people may have very knowledge thereof for their consolation, as well as keep it after, as belongeth unto them.

Also, at the said convention was marriage betrothed betwixt us and our wife, daughter of the aforesaid father,

[1] Harl. MSS., 5019, art 16. This letter was written the day after the treaty was signed at Troyes.

the King of France. And, furthermore, forasmuch as we must, by virtue of the said accord, use a new style during the life of our said father, we send you in a schedule within these, our style that we will use hereafter, both in Latin, in English, and in French;[1] charging you that in all things that passeth during the time aforesaid as well under our great seal as under all our other seals, wherever it be; and in proclamations ye ordain that our style be used after the contence[2] of the said schedule; and that the scripture[3] of all our seals be amended thereafter in all haste; and so charge ye by our writ all our officers, that this may belong,[4] as well to all in England as in Ireland as in Guyenne; for so will we ordain that shall be done here.

Yeven[5] under our signet in the said town of Troyes, the 22nd day of May above-said: and as touching the scripture of the seal, us seemeth (it seemeth unto us) that this word *regent* may be out well enough.

Henry V. to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London.[6]

Truly and well-beloved, we greet you well. And, forasmuch as we be certain that ye will be joyful to hear

[1] The schedule here referred to is given in the MS.; and the style now adopted by Henry was, "Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, heir and regent of the realm of France, and Lord of Ireland." Before the treaty of Troyes, he called himself "King of England and of France."

[2] Contents. [3] Inscription. [4] Concern. [5] Given.

[6] MSS. in Archives of the corporation of the City of London.

good tiding of our estate and welfare, we signify unto you that we be in good health and prosperity of our person, and so been our brother of Gloucester, our bel[1] uncle of Excester, and all the remnant of lords and other persons of our host: blessed be our Lord, which so grant you for to be! Witting, moreover, that in our coming by Picardy, we had disposed us for to have tarried somewhat in the country, for to have set it, with God's help, in better governance. And, whilst we were busy to intend thereto, come tidings unto us, that he that clepeth[2] himself Dolphin[3], was come down with a great puissance[4] unto Chartres and those parts; purposing him for to lay siege (as we were informed) unto the said town of Chartres. Wherefore, we drew us in all haste unto Paris, as well for to set our father of France as the said good town of Paris in sure governance; and from thence unto this our town of Mante: at which place we arrived on Wednesday last, to the intent for to have given succours, with God's grace, unto the said town of Chartres. And hither come unto us our brother of Burgundy, with a fair fellowship, for to have gone with us to the said succours; the which our brother we find a right, trusty, loving, and faithful brother unto us in all things. But, in our coming from Paris to this our town of Mante, we were certified, on the way, by certain letters that were sent unto us, that the said pretended Dolphin, for certain causes that moved him, hath raised the said siege, and is gone into the country of Touraine in great haste. And we trust fully unto our Lord that,

[1] Fair. [2] Calleth. [3] Dauphin. [4] Power.

through His grace and mercy, all things here that we shall have to do with, shall go well from henceforth, to His pleasure and worship: whom we beseech devoutly that so it may be, and to have you in His keeping!

Given under our signet, in our host at our town of Mante, the 12th day of April.

Henry V. to the Bishops and Lords of his Council,[1] *13th July*, 1422.

Right worshipful fathers in God, our right trusty and well-beloved. Howbeit we have taken into our hand, till a certain time, and for such causes as ye know, the dowers of our mother queen Johanne, except a certain pension thereof yearly, which we assigned for the expense reasonable of her and of a certain meinie[2] that should be about her: we, doubting lest it should be a charge unto our conscience for to occupy forth longer the said dower in this wise, the which charge we be advised no longer to bear on our conscience, will and charge you, as ye will appear before God for us in this case, and stand discharged in your own conscience also, that ye may make deliverance unto our said mother, the queen, wholly of her said dower, and suffer her to receive it as she did heretofore; and that she make her officers whom she

[1] Acts of Privy Council. This letter of restitution of the lands of his father's widow was written by Henry to the bishops and lords of his council, being seized with remorse for the wrong and robbery of which he had been guilty. *Sir H. Nicolas.* Henry expired a few weeks after the date of this document.

[2] Company of followers, or retainers.

list, so they be our liege men and good men; and that, therefore, we have given in charge and commandment at this time, to make her full restitution of her dower above said. Furthermore, we will and charge you that her beds and all other things moveable that we had of her, ye deliver her again. And ordain her that she have of such cloth and of such colour as she will devise herself, five or six gowns, such as she useth to wear. And because we suppose she will soon remove from the palace where she now is, that ye ordain her horses for eleven chares,[1] and let her remove them into whatsoever place within our realm that her[2] list, and when her list, &c.

Written the thirteenth day of July, the year of our reign the tenth.

Henry VI. to the Citizens of Ghent.[3]

Right dear and well-beloved. We have been and are so well assured, by long actual experience as well as by most credible reports, of the very great good will and loyalty that you have borne towards ourself and our crown of France, especially since it hath pleased God our Creator, by His bountiful grace, to put into our hands the dignity and seigniory, and also, not long since, against the damnable and subtle designs of Charles, who is wont to call himself Dauphin, our adversary; with which your service we are much pleased and satisfied, and take the same in very good part, and for good reason and

[1] Cars, or chariots. [2] She.

[3] Cotton. MSS. Galba. B. i., f. 161. Translated from the Anglo-Norman.

always we shall hold your great loyalty in memory, and shall acknowledge it to the pleasure of God, to your honour and that of your successors in time to come; and we exhort you so to persevere from good to better, as we have in you stedfast and perfect confidence. And, moreover, we notify unto you, for your singular comfort, that we are determined and resolved upon receiving the holy sacrament, taking our crown of England at the customary place, the 6th November next ensuing; intending to take our departure, God willing, to our kingdom of France, so soon as we conveniently can. And if you or yours desire any thing, you will ever find us disposed to listen in reason, as a sovereign and favourable lord to his loyal friends, vassals, and subjects.

Very dear and beloved, may the Holy Spirit have care of you!

Given under our privy seal, at our palace of Westminster, the 18th day of October, 1429.[1]

Henry VI. to Robert Rolleston,[2] *4th November*, 1429.

Henry, to our well-beloved clerk, Robert Rolleston, greeting. It hath been shown to us and our council, by our beloved squire, Philip Dymok, in what manner his ancestors (whose memory is not obscured) have been

[1] This document is endorsed, "To our very dear and good friends, the people of the church, the nobles, the bourgeois, dwellers, and inhabitants of the good city of Ghent."

[2] MS. Records in the Chapter House. Robert Rolleston was the keeper of the wardrobe. Henry was crowned both in England and at Paris.

accustomed to do certain services and ceremonies at the coronations of our noble progenitors in times heretofore—that is to say, to be armed on the day of coronation, and to be mounted upon a large horse; and to do and exercise whatever to the said services belongeth, receiving the fees usual thereto: so we, by the advice and assent of our council, will and command you that, for the holiday of our coronation, you cause to be prepared the trappings and other things in this case usual, and them to be delivered to the said Philip in manner as they have been delivered to his ancestors by the wardrobe keepers of our said progenitors at such ceremony in times heretofore. And we will that these our letters be to you a warrant for the same; and that you have a due allowance for it in your accompt.

Henry VI. to the Duke of Burgundy.[1] 1431.

Most dear and well-beloved uncle,

The fervent love and great affection which you, like a very Catholic prince, bear to our Mother Holy Church and to the advancement of our faith, doth both reasonably admonish and friendly exhort us to signify and write unto you such things, which, to the honour of our Holy Mother Church, strengthening of our faith, and plucking by the roots of most pestilent errors, have been solemnly done in the city of Rouen.

[1] Hall's Union. fol. London. 1548. This letter presents us with a very full and interesting account of the last days of the celebrated Joan of Arc. She was burnt at Rouen on May 30th, 1431, in the presence of an immense body of spectators.

It is commonly renowned,[1] and in every place published, that the woman, commonly called the *Pucelle*, hath, by the space of two years and more, contrary to God's law, and the estate of womanhood, being clothed in man's apparel, a thing in the sight of God abominable, and in this estate carried over and conveyed to the presence of our chief enemy and yours, to whom and to the prelates, nobles, and commons of his party, she declared that she was sent from God, presumptuously making her vaunt, that she had communication personally and visibly with Saint Michael and a great multitude of angels and saints of Heaven, as Saint Katherine and Saint Margaret. By the which falsehood and subtlety she made divers believe and trust in her faith, promising to them great and notable victories; by the which means she did turn the hearts of many men and women from the truth and verity, and converted them to lies and errors. Besides this, she usurped a coat of arms, and displayed a standard; which things be appertaining only to knights and squires. And, of a great outrage and more pride and presumption, she demanded to bear the noble and excellent arms of France, which she in part obtained; the which she bare in many skirmishes and assaults, and her brethren also, (as men report) that is to say, the field azure; a sword, the point upward in pale silver set between two flower-de-luces, firmed with a crown of gold. And in this estate she came into the field, and guided men of war; and gathered companies, and assembled hosts to exercise unnatural

[1] Reported.

cruelties in shedding of Christian blood, and stirring seditions, and commotions among the people; inducing them to perjury, rebellion, superstition, and false error; in disturbing of peace and quietness, and renewing of mortal war. Besides this, causing herself to be honoured and worshipped of many, as a woman sanctified, and damnably opening divers imagined cases, long to rehearse, in divers places well known and apparently proved; whereby almost all Christendom is slandered.

But the Divine Power, having compassion on His true people, and willing no longer to leave them in peril, nor suffer them to abide still in ways dangerous and new cruelties, hath lightly [1] permitted, of His great mercy and clemency, the said Pucelle to be taken in your host and siege, which you kept for us before Champeigne; and by your good mean delivered into our obedience and dominion. And, because we were required by the bishop of the diocese where she was taken, (because she was noted, suspected, and defamed to be a traitor to Almighty God) to deliver her to him as to her ordinary and ecclesiastical judge, we, for the reverence of our Mother Holy Church, (whose ordinances we will prefer as our own deeds and wills, as reason it is) and also for the advancement of Christian faith, bailed [2] the said Joan to him, to the intent that he should make process against her; not willing any vengeance or punishment to be showed to her by any officers of our secular justices, which they might have lawfully and reasonably done,

[1] Readily, easily, or quickly.

[2] Delivered; bailer, *Norman-French.*

considering the great hurts, damages, and inconveniences, the horrible murders and detestable cruelties, and other innumerable mischiefs, which she hath committed in our territories, against our people and obedient subjects. The which bishop, taking in company with him the vicar and inquisitor of errors and heresies, and calling to them a great and notable number of solemn doctors and masters in divinity and law-canon, began by great solemnity and gravity, accordingly to proceed in the cause of the said Joan. And after that, the said bishop and inquisitor, judges in this cause, had at divers days ministered certain interrogatories to the said Joan, and had caused the confessions and assertions of her truly to be examined by the said doctors and masters; and in conclusion generally, by all the faculties of our dear and well-beloved daughter the university of Paris. Against whom (the confessions and assertions maturely and deliberately considered) the judges, doctors, and all other the parties aforesaid, adjudged the same Joan a superstitious sorceress and a diabolical blasphemeress of God and of his saints, and a person schismatic and erroneous in the law of Jesu Christ.

And, for to reduce and bring her again to the communion and company of our Mother Holy Church, and to purge her of her horrible and pernicious crimes and offences, and to save and preserve her soul from perpetual pain and damnation, she was most charitably and favourably admonished and advised to put away and abhor all her errors and erroneous doings, and to return humbly to the right way, and to come to the very verity of a

Christian creature, or else to put her soul and body in great peril and jeopardy. But all this notwithstanding, the perilous and inflamed spirit of pride and of outrageous presumption, the which continually enforceth himself to break and dissolve the unity of Christian obedience, so clasped in his claws the heart of this woman Joan, that she, neither by any ghostly exhortation, holy admonition, or any other wholesome doctrine, which might to her be showed, would mollify her hard heart, or bring herself to humility. But she advanced and avowed, that all the things by her done were well done; yea, and done by the commandment of God and the saints, before rehearsed, plainly to her appearing; referring the judgment of her cause only to God, and to no judge or council of the church militant.

Wherefore, the judges ecclesiastical, perceiving her hard heart so long to continue, caused her to be brought forth in a common auditory before the clergy and people in a great multitude there for that purpose assembled. In which presence were opened, manifested, and declared solemnly, openly, and truly, by a master in divinity of notable learning and virtuous life, to the advancement of the Catholic faith, and extirping[1] of errors and false opinions, all her confessions and assertions; charitably admonishing and persuading her to return to the union and fellowship of Christ's Church, and to correct and amend the faults and offences, in which she was so obstinate and blind.

[1] Rooting out; exterminating.

And, according to the law, the judges aforesaid began to proceed and pronounce the judgment and sentence in that case, of right appertaining. Yet, before the judge had fully declared the sentence, she began somewhat to abate her courage, and said that she would reconcile herself to our Mother Holy Church, both gladly and willingly. The judges and other ecclesiastical persons gently received her offer, hoping, by this mean, that both her body and soul were gotten again out of eternal loss and perdition. And so she submitted herself to the ordinance of the holy church, and, with her mouth, openly revoked her errors and detestable crimes, and the same abjured openly, signifying with her hand the said abjuration and revocation. Whereupon, our holy mother Church being pitiful and merciful, glad and rejoicing of a sinner that will convert willing the strayed sheep to return again to his fold and flock, condemned the said Joan only to do open penance.

But the fire of her pride, which was in her heart, suddenly burst out into hurtful flames, blown out by the bellows of Envy: and incontinent after, she took again all her errors and false opinions by her before abjured and revoked. For which causes, according to the judgments and institutions of Holy Church, to the intent that she hereafter should not defile any other member of the flock of Our Lord Jesus Christ, was again exhorted and preached to openly. And, because she still was obstinate in her trespasses and villanous offences, she was delivered to the secular power, the which condemned her to be burnt, and consumed her in the fire. And when she

saw that the fatal day of her obstinacy was come, she openly confessed that the spirits which to her often did appear were evil and false, and apparent liars; and that their promise, which they had made, to deliver her out of captivity, was false and untrue, affirming herself by those spirits to be often beguiled, blinded, and mocked. And so, being in good mind, she was by the justices carried to the old market, within the city of Rouen, and there by the fire consumed to ashes, in the sight of all the people.

King Henry VI. to the Abbot of St. Edmondsbury, and to the Aldermen and Bailiffs of the town, for the suppression of the Lollards.[1]

By the King,

Right trusty and well-beloved, for as much as that, in this holy time of Whyson woke,[2] the misgoverned men of divers shires of this our land, and in especial the shire of Kent, as well Lollards as other robbers and

[1] Archæologia, vol. 23, p. 339. The Lollards were the disciples of Wickliffe, and rose about the close of the fourteenth century. They fearlessly exposed some of the most glaring corruptions of the Romish church; and from that time may be traced, by moderate degrees, the progress of that religious revolution which terminated with the grand Reformation in the sixteenth century. Those who imagine that Henry VIII. and his wickedness were the sole causes of this terrific change, have much to read on the subject. They were certainly a means of facilitating it; but the force of public opinion against the enormous vices of the Roman Catholic clergy had been too surely gathering for at least two centuries, and must ultimately have severed the bonds which superstition and self-interest had so long held together.

[2] Whitsun week.

pillers[1] of our people, were in great number, and in riotous wise, gathering in the said shire of Kent, to have do[2] the harm they could have might, and to have subverted all the political rule of this our land, of the which men, Sir Nichol Conway, Knight, the which is now taken and set fast in prison, should have been a captain, and of the which also misgoverned men there be taken and in prison a great number; and as we be now informed, there is likely to be a similar gathering in Cambridgeshire, and, as it is said, about Cambridge town; we will, therefore, that anon, after the sight of these our letters, ye do all the diligence that ye can and may to the good rule of our said shire of Cambridge, and in especial have a sight that there be no gathering of such misgoverned men, and at all times to be ready, with all the might and power that ye can and may get for the resistance of their malicious intent and purpose, as it is to presume they would do and execute. And, moreover, we will and charge you to certify us in this behalf, from time to time, as the case shall happen and require.

Given under our privy seal, at Westminster, the 5th day of June.

King Henry VI. to the Abbot of St. Edmondsbury and to the Aldermen and Bailiffs of the Town, for the suppression of the Lollards.

By the king,

Trusty and well-beloved, the malicious intent and purpose of God's traitors and ours, heretics in this our

[1] Pillagers. [2] Cause to do.

realm, commonly called Lollards, the which now lately setting up of seditious bills,[1] and otherwise traitorously exhorted, stirred and moved the people of our land to assemble, gather, and arise against God's peace and ours, is not unknown to you nor to no man endued with reason, foresight, or discretion: the which, howbeit that they of high subtlety, fraud, and fellness,[2] feign, pretend, and write such thing as they trow to blind with you that be simple, and to draw by their arts and affections to them and their intent, intending nevertheless and purposing without any doubt the subversion of the Christian Faith, and belief of us also and of all estates,[3] and gentlemen, and generally of all true Christian men and women that will not follow them, and assist them in their damnable errors, intent and purpose, and would destroy all political rule and government, spiritual and temporal; and considering that they, against God's law and man's, stir our people without our commandment or authority to assemble and arise, and therewith purpose and would take upon them and usurp as well our royal power and authority as the Church's, and use correction and government in no wise belonging unto them that ought to be governed, and not so to govern; the which stirring and usurpation of our royal power, by the law of this our land, is treason, each reasonable man may well feel that in eschewing of chastising, and aspire

[1] It was the custom for the disaffected of those days to make known their grievances by distibuting papers on doors of public buildings, and even strawing them in the high way, for the benefit of the chance passenger.

[2] Strength, power. [3] The nobility.

reddome[1] to the contemner of our laws, they so doing would never by their wills come to reckoning thereof, but dispose them to be out of subjection, obedience, or awe of us, and of our law; and, as God knoweth, never would they be subject to his, nor to man's, but would be loose and free, to rob, reve,[2] and despoil, slay and destroy all men of estate, thrift, and worship, as they purposed to have done in our fadre's[3] days, and of lad and lurdains[4] would make lords, and generally would use, do, and fulfil all their lusts and wills that God forbade: and howbeit, that by the grace of our Lord, and the great and notable diligence of our bel[5] uncle of Gloucester, our lieutenant, and of other commissioners and judges in sundry places, lawful execution may be done upon divers of the said God's traitors and ours; the which, if reason ought to have been unto them and their accomplices extreme confusion and rebuke; nevertheless, it is credibly from day to day reported unto our said lieutenant and council here, in divers ways, that the wicked and malicious purpose of the said traitors ceaseth not, but continueth and abideth: wherefore, howbeit, that we wrote late ago unto you, that be now true unto God and us, to the intent that followeth: nevertheless, forasmuch as we know not when our said letters came unto you, praying you heartily and also charging you on the faith, truth, and allegiance that ye owe to God and to us, that with all diligence and without delay or tarrying, ye ordain and array you and yours, and stir other such as will accom-

[1] Violence. [2] Deprive, rob. [3] Father's.
[4] French, *lourdauds*, blockheads, clowns. [5] Fair, good.

pany you to be ready to assemble, with other of our true liege men to do the same, and withstand mightily, chastise, and subdue the damnable malice and enterprise of God's said traitors and ours, the which ye and all our true liege men have great cause and matter to have in great await.[1] And, in especial, we will and charge you that ye inquire, consider, and take good heed from time to time, which of the inhabitants in the country about who have now of late time absented them, or absent them hereafter, otherwise than their occupation or craft axeth;[2] and also, of strange and unknown comers, such as any matter of ill suspicion may reasonably be felt in, and that ye arrest, search, and examine them in the straightest wise, whence they come, and where they have been, and of all the days, times, and places of their absence; and also, if sowers of seditions, slanderous or troublous language, or tales. Over this, not suffering privy gatherings, or conventicles to be had or made by night or by day thereabout, you having alway your recourse and resort, whensoever you think that need is for your succour, your help, and comfort to our said lieutenant and council, whom ye shall find ever well-willed and disposed to purvey that that may be to your surety, and comfort and ease; and fail not in due and diligent execution of these things aforesaid, as ye desire our prosperity and yours and welfare. Given under our privy seal at Westminster, the sixth day of July.

[1] Readiness.

[2] Requireth. This modern vulgarism was formerly in good use. There are many would consider the expression as characteristic of ill-breeding, and yet it is the genuine Anglo-Saxon form of the word.

To our trusty and well-beloved the Aldermen and Bailiffs of our town of Bury.

Henry VI. His Mandate for the Burning of a Heretic, John Bismire, alias John Chandyrer.[1] *A.D.* 1438.

The King to the Sheriffs of London; &c.

Whereas the Venerable Father Robert, bishop of London, by the assent and consent of reverend men of great discernment and wisdom, as well doctors of divinity as others, doctors of the canon and civil law, who were aiding to him in the process of justice required in this behalf, and which hath been observed in all points, hath pronounced John Bismire, otherwise called John Chandyrer, of the parish of Saint Mary-at-Axe, in the city of London, who hath fallen back into the heresy which he held and abjured—a heretic relapsed—by his definitive sentence, according to laws and canonical decrees set forth in this matter, even as appeareth to us by the letter of the foresaid bishop; and as Holy Mother Church hath not any more that she can do in the preceding case—

We, therefore, zealous for justice, and revering the catholic faith, and willing to uphold and defend Holy Church, the rights and liberties of the same, to pluck out by the roots heresies and errors out of our kingdom of England, as far as in us lieth, and to punish with condign punishment heretics so convicted; and considering

[1] Cotton. MSS., Cleop., E. iii., Art. 39. Translated from the Latin. This is a curious example of the way in which the Roman Catholics enforced their notions of truth in "the good old times."

that such heretics, convicted in the form aforesaid, according to law, divine and human, and the canons and institutes in this behalf, ought, as a matter of course, to be burned with the burning of fire.

To you we command, with all strictness possible, and positively enjoin, that the aforesaid John, now being in your custody, you cause to be committed to flames in some public and open place, within the liberty of the city foresaid, having made public the reason before stated, in presence of the people; and him to be burned in the same fire in very deed, by way of abomination of a crime of this kind, and as an open example to others, his neighbours: and this at your instant peril by no means omit ye.

Witness the king, the 14th day of May, the sixteenth year of his reign.

Henry VI. to the Abbess and Convent of Wylton.[1]
A.D. 1445.

The King to the by him beloved Abbess in Christ and the Convent of Wylton, greeting. Since, on the occasion of the coronation[2] of Margaret, our very dear consort and queen, it becometh our right to nominate a certain damsel to be admitted by you in quality of nun into the aforesaid abbey, as we have understood. We have, for the foresaid reason, nominated to you Anicia Preston, beloved by us; commanding that you admit the same Anicia as a nun into the house aforesaid, and that you

[1] Rawlinson's MSS., Bodleian Library. Translated from the Latin.
[2] Margaret was crowned on May 30th.

cause her in all things to be treated and governed in the same house according to the rules thereof.[1]

Edward the Fourth, when Earl of March, and his brother, the Earl of Rutland, to their father, Richard Duke of York.[2]

Right high and right mighty prince, our full redoubted and right noble lord and father, as lowly with all our hearts as we your true and natural[3] sons can or may, we recommend us unto your noble grace, humbly beseeching your noble and worthy fatherhood daily to yeve[4] us your hearty blessing, through which we trust much the rather to increase and grow to virtue, and to speed the better in all matters and things that we shall use, occupy, and exercise. Right high and right mighty prince, our full redoubted lord and father, we thank our blessed Lord not only of your honourable conduct and good speed in all your matters and business, and of your gracious prevail against the entent[5] and malice of your evilwillers, but also of the knowledge that it pleased your noblesse[6] to let us now late have of the same, by relation of Sir Walter Devreux, knight, and John Milewatiere, squire, and John at Nokes, yeo-

[1] "According to the king's command, the above letter was despatched to the Lord Bishop of Salisbury the 16th of August, in the twenty-third year of the king's reign."—MS. note in Orig. MSS.

[2] Cotton. MS., Vesp., F. iii., fol. 9.

[3] *Natural* is here used in exactly the reverse sense to that in which we now employ the word.

[4] Give. [5] Designs. [6] Nobility; excellence.

man of your honourable chamber. And also we thank your noblesse and good fatherhood of our green gowns, now sent unto us to our great comfort, beseeching your good lordship to remember our porteux,[1] and that we might have some fine bonnets sent unto us by the next sure messenger, for necessity so requireth. Over this, right noble lord and father, please it your highness to wit[2] that we have charged your servant, William Smith, bearer of these, for to declare unto your noblesse certain things in our behalf, namely, concerning and touching the odious rule and demeaning of Richard Crofte and his brother. Wherefore we beseech your gracious lordship, and full noble fatherhood, to hear him in exposition of the same, and to his relation to give full faith and credence. Right high and right mighty prince, our full, redoubted, and right noble lord and father, we beseech almighty Jesu give you as good life and long, with as much continual, perfect prosperity, as your princely heart can best desire.

Written at your castle of Lodelowe,[3] on Saturday, in the Easter week.

Your humble sons,

E. March and

E. Rutland.

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[1] A portable book of prayers. "I'll take my portace forth, and wed you here,"—Green's Friar Bacon.

[2] Know.

[3] Ludlow.

Letter of King Edward IV.[1] 1461.

"Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well, and thank you of the great truth, love, and kindness, showed unto us at all times herebefore, and specially in the days and time of our great necessity for the defence of our land and subjects; wherein ye approved your said truth and devoure[2] of such largeness,[3] as we will ever remember in the mightiest part of the affection of our heart; not holding doubted but ascertained, that we shall be assured of the perfectness of your hearty perseverance in the same; letting you wit, that yesterday and this day is come certainly to our knowledge, that on Thursday last past it was fully determined, concluded, and assented, in the council of our great enemy, the King of Scots in Edinburgh, between him and Margaret, late called Queen,[4] under the form following:

The same Margaret, in the name of Henry, late called King, our great traitor and rebel, hath granted unto the said King of Scots, to his heirs and successors, seven Sherifwicks of our realm of England; his son Edward in marriage to the sister of the same king, and to be, for the same intent, for seven years under the keeping and governance of the Bishop of Saint Andrews, to whom she hath granted the Archbishopric of Canterbury, to

[1] Harl. MSS., 543, f. 149, transcribed from the original by Stowe.

[2] Duty. [3] Liberality.

[4] Margaret still kept possession of several castles in Northumberland, notwithstanding the successes of Edward; and her measures were so vigorous after the negociations here alluded to, that the Queen must nearly have reached York before the present letter was written.

divers clerks of Scotland, divers bishoprics in this our realm; and the livelihood lands of the lords, gentles, and nobles thereof, to divers Scots and Frenchmen, having thereof petitions by the said King Henry signed; and by the consequence and sequel, the obeisance of our said realm and of our subjects thereof, as much as she may, under the domination and power of the same Scots and Frenchmen; whom she hath excited and provoked to show them of the greatest and largest cruelty and tyranny against our said subjects that they can, unto the execution of the end of her insatiable malice toward them: whereunto her joy and consolation is most disposed and applied.

Over this, the said Margaret hath, inasmuch as she may, in the name of the said Henry, bounden the realm to be adjoined to the league, of ancient time made and renovelled[1] betwixt France and Scotland. And to the observing and performing of all the promises for the party[2] of the said Henry, Margaret hath made solemn oath, the said Thursday, openly in the said council, upon the four evangelists; for the which the said Scots there also bodily made like oath to the said Henry and Margaret, to take whole and full party with them against us and our subjects to put them in devoire, to the execution of the said malice; and to the same intent, to enter our land on Friday next coming; arreadying[3] their great ordnance to besiege our castle of Northam, authorized by the said Bishop with the clergy of Scotland; the lords, gentlemen, and commonalty

[1] Remodelled. [2] On the part of. [3] Making ready.

thereof intending to accompany and bring the said Henry and Margaret into our said realm. The which we purpose to resist with God's grace, and arready us thereto and to the rebuke of the said malice, and of the great presumption and customable pride of the said Scots, grounded and established upon unrightwise covetise,[1] that we trust in our Lord shall be the occasion of their fall and decline, if they persevere in their said purpose.

We therefore pray you to pray heartily to God for our good speed in our rightwise cause and quarrel, and true intent in the defence and tuition of our said land and subjects; whereunto we will join our body, blood, and life; and that you will joyfully courage[2] yourselves and our subjects of that our city, under the trust of God and the mystery of His grace and might; wherein we stablish our surety and progress, and trust thereunto, that ye shall hear such tidings of the resistance of our said enemies, as shall be in perpetual memory to their rebuke and confusion, and singular and assured comfort to you and all our said subjects.

Edward IV. to the King of Scots.[3]

Edward, by the grace of God, &c., to our dear cousin, James, by the same grace, King of Scots, greeting. Whereas ye took and received unto your land our

[1] Unrighteous covetousness. [2] Embolden.

[3] Harl. MSS., 543, f. 148. There is no date to this letter, but it was most probably written in 1461, after the battle of Towton, when Henry and his family fled to the borders, having delivered the town of Berwick to the Scots, in order to propitiate their assistance.

traitors and rebels, Harry, late usurpant king of our said realm, Margaret his wife, and her son, and other our traitors and rebels, not being your liegemen; omitting[1] thereby the duty of the state and the worship that ye be of, should bear to the noble princehood. We exhort and require you, in God's behalf, to deliver unto us without delay our said traitors and rebels, if they become not your lieges and subjects; and if it so be, to certify us the same under seal; showing yourself unto us in these, as in like case ye would we or any other prince should show them to you.

Edward IV. to Thomas Cooke, Alderman of London.[2]

8th March, 1462.

Edward, by the grace of God, King of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland, to our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Cooke, alderman of our city of London, greeting. Forasmuch as we, by divers means, been readily informed and understand for certain that our great adversary Harry, naming himself King of England, by the malicious counsel and excitation of Margaret his wife, naming herself Queen of England, have conspired, accorded, concluded, and determined with our outward enemies as well of France and Scotland as of other divers countries, that our said outward enemies in great number shall in all haste to them possible enter this our realm of England, to make in the same such cruel, horrible, and mortal war, depopulation, robbery, and man-

[1] Disregarding. [2] Harl. MSS,. 543, Art. 14.

slaughter, as heretofore hath not been used among Christian people; and with all ways and means to them possible, to destroy utterly the people, the name, the tongue, and all the blood English of this our said realm; insomuch that in the said conspiracy, among other things it is agreed and accorded by our said adversary, Harry, moved thereto by the malicious and subtle suggestion and enticing of the said malicious woman, Margaret his wife, that, in case they shall and may perform this their malicious and cruel purpose, which God forefend! that then, his uncle Charles of Anjou with the Frenchmen shall have the domination, rule, and governance of this our realm abovesaid.

And over[1] this, among other wicked and detestable things attempted in this party[2] by the said Harry and Margaret his wife, to the intent our said outward enemies of France should rather condescend and apply themselves to their malicious intent and to the destruction of this land, the same Harry our adversary hath granted and sent unto our adversary, Louis de Valois, naming himself King of France, a renunciation and release of the right and title that the crown of England hath unto the crown and realm of France, and also to the Duchies and countries of Guyenne, with their marches and appurtenances; and over this, hath granted to the same intent to the Scots not only the town and castle of Berwick now by his deliverance had and occupied by the same Scots, but also a great part of this our realm of England.

[1] Besides. [2] Behalf.

Which things above rehearsed, well and diligently considered, it openly appeareth that the said Harry and Margaret his wife, been not only to us but also to all this our realm and all our true liege people of the same, mortal and most cruel enemies.

We, intending with all our might and power to resist the great cruelty and malicious purpose of our said adversary and enemies, and in no wise therein to spare our own person, body, or goods, neither to refuse any adventure, jeopardy, or peril, for the tuition [1] and defence of this our realm and our true subjects of the same, desire and pray you, in the most especial wise, that you, immediately upon the receipt of these our letters, make to be called and assembled before you all the householders and inhabitants within your ward, as well citizens as foreigners,[2] and declare unto them the abovesaid malicious, furious, and cruel intent of our said adversary and enemies; and over that, on our behalf, exhort, induce, and heartily pray them with such greeting, language, and words of benevolence, as shall be thought to you behoveful, that they for the defence and surety of themselves and of all this land, and in the eschewing of the great and horrible mischiefs and inconveniences above rehearsed, will at this time, in this great and most urgent necessity, show effectually and indeed their good will, zeal, and affection that they bear unto us, to the commonweal of this land, and prosperity of themselves.

[1] Guarding, or protection. From the Latin.

[2] Strangers from the country. In Norfolk, at the present day, inhabitants of a distant village are called foreigners by the country people.

And that, unto the relieving and supportation[1] of the great charges, expenses, and costs that we must of necessity daily bear in this part, they and every of them will grant unto us, of their goodness and free will, some certain sum of money, such as they shall well bear with, but not to their hurt and grievance; letting them wit for certain, that we have well in our fresh and tender remembrance the great and manifold charges that they before have borne; and that, if we might by any mean otherwise do, we would not at this time anything desire to their charge; trusting, nevertheless, so much in their good dispositions and discretions, that they will not suffer wilfully all this realm and themselves to perish and utterly be destroyed; considering, namely, that we desire nothing of them by way of imposition, compulsion, or of precedent or example thereupon hereafter to be taken, but allonly[2] of their humanity and good wills; trusting in the infinite goodness and rightwiseness of Almighty God, which herebefore in just battle by victory and confusion of our enemies hath judged and declared, openly and indeed, for our right and title, that, if our true and faithful subjects will at this time do their part, and apply them benevolently to our desire in this behalf, we shall for our part semblably so behave us, and so from all such perils and mischiefs defend and preserve them and all this land, that within few days they shall have cause to think that they never herebefore better bestowed, beset, or spended any money.

And over this, for your direction and more speedy

[1] Support. [2] Entirely.

execution of this matter, we send unto you certain instructions[1] here within closed, desiring and right specially praying you that ye, according to the same, will diligently and effectually labour and intend to the accomplishment of our desire in this behalf; and that ye fail not to do so, as ye desire the welfare, prosperity, and surety of us, yourselves, and all this land.

Given under our privy seal at our town of Stamford, the 8th day of March, the second year of our reign.

Edward IV. to his Chancellor.[2] *A.D.* 1463.

By the King,

Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well; and have received by your servant, the bearer of these your letters, written at London, the thirteenth day of this instant month, &c.

We let you wit, that on Sunday last our castle of Banburgh, and yesterday our castle of Dunstanburgh were delivered and yolden[3] to our hands and obeisance, by Henry Beaufort, late Duke of Somerset, being in our said castle of Banburgh, and Sir Ralph Percy. The same Henry submitted to our grace for his life only, without any exception.

And, as toward[4] our castle of Alnwick, wherein we have by siege closed[5] our enemies of France, arrived

[1] The instructions here alluded to are found in MS. Harl. 543.

[2] Harleian MSS. 543, f. 150.

[3] Yielded. These two castles were delivered to the Earl of Warwick on June 23rd. See Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 37.

[4] Concerning. [5] Enclosed.

in our land, which we trust in God shall repent the surquidance[1] and malapertness of their arrival—we, hearing that the Scots, our enemies, living in favour of alliance unto them, have assured them[2] solemnly unto the uttermost article of their honour to rescue them; purposing, therefore, to enter our land on Monday or Tuesday next coming, arready us,[3] with the mystery of God's might, to rencounter, resist, and repress their intent, and will join thereto our body in the true and lawful defence of our said realm, of you, and all other our said subjects, and remove the danger of the cruel tyranny that they intend against our said land and subjects, without mitigation in mercy, if God will. In whose power and grace thereunto, and in the suffrages of the church and people, we ground and stablish our said devoire, and the perfection thereof.

Given under our signet, at our monastery of Durham.

Edward IV. to John Paston, Esq.[4]

Appointment of the King for the foundation of a college at Caister, &c.

The king, for the sum of three hundred marks (£200) of lawful money of England, or of silver plate to the value thereof, granteth to John Paston, the elder, esquire, to

[1] Arrogance. [2] The men of Alnwick. [3] Make us ready.

[4] Paston Letters, vol. iv., p. 182. The Sir John Fastolf, or Falstolf, mentioned in this document, must not be confused with the glorious hero of the Boar's Head, so wonderfully delineated by our great dramatic poet. The former was a knight of high renown, who greatly distinguished himself in the wars with France. The latter was merely a name adopted by Shakespeare for political reasons, when that of Old-

have license, lawfully made, to make and found a college of seven priests and seven poor folk at Caister, in Flegg (*hundred*), in Norfolk, for the soul of Sir John Falstoff, Knight, they to be endowed with certain rent, and otherwise after the intent and effect as is specified in a bill thereof, signed by the king, and that he shall show his good grace and favour in the expedition thereof what time he be sued therefore by the said John Paston.

Also the king granteth to be good and favourable lord to the said John Paston, and in especial in all things touching the execution of the said Sir John Falstoff, and also to be good and favourable lord to the said John Paston, in supporting and helping him, in that the king's highness may lawfully do in such matters as are in debate atwixt[1] the said John Paston and William Yelverton or William Jenny, or any other, concerning the lands and tenements, goods, or chattels, that were the said Sir John Falstolf's; also the king granteth to help and support the said John Paston to obtain and have to the use of the said Sir John Falstolf such goods as were the said Falstolf's deceitfully aloyned[2] out of the possession and knowledge of the said John Paston, and that the king shall grant the said John Paston such lawful writings and letters from the king, directed to such persons as shall be behoveful for the same, what time the said John Paston sueth to the king's highness therefore.

Also where Yelverton or Jenney, or any justice of the

castle had been rendered obnoxious as a supposed allusion to one of the earliest and most enthusiastic reformers.

[1] Between. [2] Removed.

peace of the shire of Suffolk hath recorded any riot, trespass, or offences, to be done against the king's peace, by the said John Paston, his servants, or tenants, or friends, or where any indictment or presentment is found against them or any of them, before any of the said justices, for any such riot, offences, or trespass, or for any other matter remaining of record in the King's Bench, or in any other place, the king granteth to the said John Paston and all other persons named in the said records or indictments, or in any of them, and to all their boroughs[1] and pledges, and to each of them that will sue it, a pardon of all riots, trespass, offences, felonies, forfeitures, done against the king's peace, and of fines therefore dempt[2] or to be dempt, and of all other things generally, treason except, and the king shall sign warrants lawful of the said pardons, what time his highness be required by the said John Paston or his attorneys.

And also that his highness shall do[3] inquiry and examination [to] be made whether the said record of the said justices and presentments, and other informations or complaints made against the said John Paston, are done truly and lawfully or not, and if it be found they were done otherwise than truth, law, or conscience will, then the king granteth to cause the doers thereof to recompense the said John Paston and the said other persons, as far as law and good conscience will in that behalf.

And that if it fortune[4] any complaint to be made against the said John Paston, by any person in time

[1] Sureties. [2] Judged.
[3] Cause or make. [4] Happen.

coming, to the king, that he shall take no displeasure to the said John Paston till the time he come to his answer, and be found in default.

And that the king shall receive an hundred pounds of the said three hundred marks what time he send for it, and the remainder as soon as the said foundation take effect; and also that his highness shall get the assent of the reverend father in God, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in such appointments as is made atwixt the king and the said John Paston, of such goods as were the said Sir John Falstolf's, for the delivery thereof; and that if the said John Paston refuse the administration of the goods and chattels that were the said John Falstolf's, suffering other to take it upon them, the king, at the instance of the said John Paston, granteth to be good and favourable lord[1] to such other [as] by the course of the law, and assent of the said John Paston, shall take the said administration in execution of the said Falstoff's will, touching the administration of the goods and chattels aforesaid, according to the same will, and that the king shall not claim nor desire any the lands or tenements, goods or chattels, that were the said John Falstolf's, against the said John Paston, or any other executor or administrator, or feoffee, of the said Sir John Falstolf, nor support or favour any other person in claiming any of the said lands or tenements, goods or chattels, against any of the said administrators, executors, or feoffees.

[1] The term *lord* is here, and in many other cases, used in the sense of *patron*. We often find in old books the author addressing a commoner, in his dedication, as his "singular good lord."

Also the king granteth, that whereas this bill is not sufficiently made in clauses and terms according to the intent thereof, that his highness will take and execute the very intent thereof, notwithstanding the insufficiency of any such terms and clauses in this bill. Written at Marlborough, the Monday next after the Nativity of our Lady, the fourth year of the reign of the king.

Marlborough, Wiltshire, Monday, 10th September, 1464, the fourth year of Edward IV.

Edward IV. to the Duke of Clarence.[1] 1470.

Brother, we been informed how ye have laboured, contrary to natural kindness and duty of legiance, divers matters of great poise;[2] and also how proclamations have been made in your name and our cousin's of Warwick, to assemble our liege people, no mention made[3] of us; furthermore, letters, missives, sent in like manner for like cause. Howbeit, we will not forget what to us appertaineth; and that is, to call you to your declaration in the same, and to receive you thereunto, if ye will come, as it fitteth a liege man to come to his sovereign lord in humble wise; and if ye so do in deference and equity, it shall be by us well remembered, and so as no reasonable man, goodly disposed, shall think but that we shall treat you according to your nearness of blood and our laws. Wherefore, our disposition to you thus

[1] Harl. MSS., 543, f. 170. A similar letter was also addressed to the Earl of Warwick. There is an order from Clarence and Warwick, for arraying men to serve on Henry's side, among the Ashmolean MSS.

[2] Weight, or moment. [3] Being made.

plainly declared, we will and charge you, upon faith and truth that ye naturally owe [1] to bear unto us, and upon pain of liegeance, that ye departing your fellowship[2] in all haste, after the sight of this, address you to our presence, humbly and measurably accompanied, and so as is convenient for the cause abovesaid; letting you wit that, if ye ne do so, but continue the unlawful assembly of our people, in perturbation and contempt of our pax and commandment, we must proceed (that we were loth to do) to the punishment of you, to the grievous example of all other our subjects: upon the which, if there follow any effusion of blood of our subjects of this our realm, we take God, our Blessed Lady, Saint George, and all the saints in Heaven to our witness, that ye only be charged with the same, and not we.

Letters of Instructions from King Edward IV. to the Earl of Rivers, and John Russell, Bishop of Rochester, for the education of his son Edward, Prince of Wales.[3]

28 September, 1473.

Edward, by the grace of God, king of England and Lord of Ireland, to the right reverend Father-in-God, the Bishop of Rochester, and to our right trusty and well-beloved, the Earl of Rivers, and to every of you, greeting. Wit ye, that we, as well for the virtuous

[1] Ought. [2] Parting from your company.

[3] Lambeth Palace MSS., 647, f. 1. These instructions are most curious illustrations of the ancient domestic economy of a prince's household in the fifteenth century.

guiding of the person of our dearest first-begotten son, Edward, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, as for the politic, sad,[1] and good rule of his household, to be set up and begun at the Feast of Saint Michael the Archangel next following, have established these statutes and ordinances hereafter ensuing, by us made at Westminster, the 28th of September, in the 13th year of our reign: which statutes and ordinances we command and will, that you see them, and every of them, to be firmly observed and kept, as far as in you is.

Ordinances, touching the guiding of our said Son's person, which we commit to the said Earl Rivers.

First. We will that our said first-begotten son shall arise every morning at a convenient hour, according to his age; and, till he be ready, no man be suffered to come into his chamber, except the right trusty the Earl Rivers, his chaplains, and chamberlains, or such others as shall be thought by the said Earl Rivers convenient for the same season; which chaplains shall say matins in his presence; and, when he is ready, and the matins said, forthwith to go to his chapel or closet, to have his mass there, and in no wise in his chamber without a cause reasonable; and no man to interrupt him during his mass-time.

Item. We will that our said son have, every holy day, all the divine service in his chapel or closet, and that he offer afore the altar, according to the custom.

Item. We will that, upon principal feasts and usual

[1] Serious.

days of predications,[1] sermons be said before our said son, and that all his servants be thereat, that may be conveniently spared from their offices.

Item. We will that our said son have his breakfast immediately after his mass; and between that and his meat, to be occupied in such virtuous learning as his age shall suffer to receive. And that he be at his dinner at a convenient hour, and thereat to be honourably served, and his dishes to be borne by worshipful folks and squires, having on our livery; and that all other officers and servants give their due attendance, according to their offices.

Item. That no man sit at his board, but such as shall be thought fit by the discretion of the Earl Rivers; and that then be read before him such noble stories as behoveth to a prince to understand and know; and that the communication at all times in his presence be of virtue, honour, cunning,[2] wisdom, and of deeds of worship, and of nothing that should move or stir him to vice.

Item. We will that after his meat, in eschewing of idleness, he be occupied about his learning; and after, in his presence, be showed all such convenient disports[3]

[1] Preachings; religious discourses. A preacher in Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales" thus describes his office,—

"Bulles of popes and of cardinales,
Of patriarkes and bishoppes I shewe,
And in Latin I speke a wordes fewe,
To saffron with my *predication*:
And for to stere men to devotion,
Than shew I forth my longe cristal stones,
Y-crammed ful of cloutes and of bones,
Relikes they ben, as wenen they echone."

[2] Knowledge; science. [3] Games; sports.

and exercises, as behoveth his estate to have experience in.

Item. We will that our son go to his even-song at a convenient hour; and that soon after done, to be at his supper, and thereat to be served according as before.

Item. We will that after his supper he have all such honest disports as may be conveniently devised for his recreation.

Item. We will that our said son be in his chamber, and for all night livery to be set, the travers[1] drawn anon upon eight of the clock, and all persons from thence then to be avoided, except such as shall be deputed and appointed to give their attendance upon him all night; and that they enforce themselves to make him merry and joyous towards his bed.

Item. We will that it be seen by his council and officers, that sure and good watch be nightly had about his person, and duly kept for safeguard of the same.

Ordinances concerning his household, which we commit unto the said Bishop of Rochester and Earl Rivers.

Item. We will, that every day be said mass in the hall for the officers of the household, to begin at six of the clock in the morning; and at seven matins to begin in the chapel; and at nine a mass, by note,[2] with children.

Item. We will that our said son have three chaplains, the one of them to be his almoner; and that he will truly, discreetly, and diligently give and distribute

[1] The curtain. [2] With musical notes.

our said son's alms to poor people; and that the said almoner be confessor to the household, and the other two chaplains to say divine service before our said son.

Item. We will that no person, man nor woman, being within our said son's household, be customable swearer, brawler, backbiter, common hazarder,[1] adulterer, and use words of ribawdery,[2] and specially in the presence of our said son.

Item. We will that the sons of noble lords and gentlemen being in the household with our said son, arise at a convenient hour, and hear their mass, and be virtuously brought up and taught in grammar, music, or other training exercises of humanity,[3] according to their births, and after their ages, and in nowise to be suffered in idleness, or in unvirtuous occupation.

Item. We will that daily, except fasting-days, the household of our said son be at the first dinner by ten of the clock, and at supper by four; and every fasting-day to go to dinner by twelve.[4]

[1] A player at dice. [2] Ribaldry. [3] Polite learning.

[4] If any of our worthy ancestors could be permitted to see the way we pass our lives in the nineteenth century, perhaps even the wonders of steam would hardly create more surprise than the change of the dinner-hour from morn till "dewy eve." In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as may be gathered from the Northumberland Household Book, they appear to have had four meals a day. They breakfasted at s even, dined at ten, supped at four, had livery at eight or nine, and then retired. Some luxurious persons added what they termed a rear-supper, a meal taken in the sleeping apartment, but it was more customary to be then contented with a flagon of ale. Stubbes informs us, that in the reign of Elizabeth rear-suppers had got to be very common, "to the disadvantage and destruction of the commonwealth." But dinners now take the place of rear-suppers, and yet the prophecied destruction has not been fulfilled.

Item. We will that the hall be orderly served, and strangers served and cherished according to their behaviours.

Item. We will that no person, of what condition soever he be, have any service of the court at meal-times to their chambers, or out of the gates; but that they keep our son's chamber, or his hall.

Item. We will that none of our said son's council, treasurer or comptroller, or other officer accountant, nor none of our said son's household, lodge without his court, without a reasonable cause showed, and that the ushers make their lodgings as near together as they conveniently may.

Item. We will that our said son's porters give good and diligent attendance to the keeping of the gates, so that [it] be not at any time destitute of one of them; and they, from the 1st of Michaelmas until the 1st of May, be shut at nine of the clock in the evening, and opened in the morning between six and seven; and from the 1st day of May until Michaelmas, the said gates be shut at ten of the clock at night, and to be opened between five and six of the morning; and that the said porters shall not open the said gates after nor afore any of the said hours limited, without a cause reasonable, and license of some of his council; and that they suffer no man to enter the said gates with weapons, but they be left at the same; and no dishonest or unknown person to come in, without his cause be well understood and known; and that they suffer no stuff to be embezzled out of the gates.

Item. We will that no person of our said son's household, of what state or condition soever he be, maintain any false quarrel, or do any extortion to any of our liege people, nor that any of his purveyors take of others stuff, without true contentation [1] for the same.

Item. We will that, if any person strike another within the house, that he be punished according to the statutes of our household; and if he draw any weapon in our said son's household in violence, the first time to sit in the stocks, and there to sit as long as shall be thought behoveful by our said son's council: and at the second time to lose his service.

Item. We will that the treasurer or comptrollers take, every Saturday, particularly the account of every office, of their expences and charges of the household for the week; and that at the accounts' end they do make a whole account and declaration thereof to our said son's council.

Item. We will that the clerk of the cheque truly execute his office; and he rightly unto the comptroller and treasurer deliver the names of all them that be absent.

Item. We will that our said son's council shall deliver written to the chief and principal in every office, as well such ordinances and statutes as we have established concerning their offices, as others such as we shall hereafter devise for the worship and profit of our said son, and his household: to that intent that they shall not now excuse themselves with ignorance; and that they

[1] Payment.

indent[1] with the said council for all such stuff as shall be delivered unto them for their offices.

Item. We will that our said son's council ordain and see, that there be continually in our said son's household a physician and surgeon sufficient and cunning.[2]

Item. We will that the principal officers in every office see that their office be well exercised, and kept to our said son's honour, and no bribery nor unfitting rule be used in the same.

Item. We will that every man, being of the household of our said son, give his time and due attendance, and obediently exercise their office, and at all times be furnished with horse and harness,[3] according to their degrees, and not to be absent without sufficient license; and such as shall have servants, that these be personable and able to stand in a man's stead, and no children.

Item. We will that the general receiver of the duchy of Cornwall, the chamberlain of Chester and Flint, the chamberlain of North Wales, and the chamberlain of South Wales, at days and times due and accustomed, bring in all such sums of money as then shall be due unto our said son, and to deliver unto his council attending upon him, and the said money to be kept in a chest, under three keys: our dearest wife, the queen, to have one; the Bishop of Rochester and Earl Rivers to have the over two; and always the receipt of the said money to be entered in a book; and in likewise the payment of all such charges as, of necessity, must needs be

[1] Make a mark, or sign a book. [2] Having knowledge.
[3] Armour.

borne for our said son; and that our said son's signet be put into the said coffer, and not to be occupied,[1] but by the advice of his council.

Item. For the weal, surety, and profit of our said son, we will, and by these presents give authority and power to the right reverend father in God, John Bishop of Rochester, and to our right trusty and well-beloved Anthony Earl Rivers, to remove at all times the same our son, as the case shall require, unto such places as shall be thought by their discretion necessary for the same season; and ever, that for the sure accomplishment of these statutes and ordinances, they have the like authority to put them, and every of them, in execution accordingly, to the effect and intent of the articles and the premises above expressed and rehearsed, and to punish the breakers of the same.

In witness of our whole pleasure in this behalf, we have signed these premises with our own hand.

EDWARD R.

Edward IV. to the Mayor and Aldermen of London.[2]
A.D. 1475.

By the king. Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, &c., to our right trusty and well-beloved

[1] Used, employed.

[2] Harl. MSS., 543, f. 148-9. Edward's own army, when he went over to Calais, consisted of fifteen hundred men-at-arms, and an immense body of archers.

A. B., Mayor of our city of London, and to all his brethren, Aldermen of the same city, greeting:

Forasmuch as your wisdoms can well understand the weightiness of this our great voyage, and how our charges for the good and speedy achieving of our great purpose daily increaseth, namely, for the army of two thousand archers that we send now into Bretagne, above and beside the whole retinue that we take with us to attend upon our person; and that it were too great damage,[1] that, where all other things prosperously applieth unto us, giving very comfort and certain hope of victory to be had of our enemy, the lack of gold should let[2] and disturb so great advantage; which God forbid. We therefore, desiring by all lawful and convenient means to provide against the foresaid, as well in taking the benevolence[3] of our loving subjects within our realm, in that wise, and knowing for certain that there be many and divers of good haviour[4] within our said city and the precinct of the same, which have not yet showed their benevolence unto our great voyage, as other of like haviour resident within our said city, have done in our presence largely, to our great comfort and pleasure, God knoweth; having perfect confidence in your great sadness[5] and discretions, love and faithfulness, showed unto us at all times heretofore in all our great matters, have

[1] Pity. [2] Hinder.

[3] A kind of tax given voluntarily in former times to the king.

[4] Substance; wealth. So, Shakespeare, "the gentleman is of no *having*; he kept company with the wild prince, and with Poins."

[5] Soberness.

assigned, disputed, and committed you and every one of you, commonly and separately (as the case shall require), with the assistance of our entirely beloved Sir Thomas Billing, Sir Thomas Brian, knights, our two chief judges, Sir Thomas Ursewicke, chief baron of our exchequer, and Master R. Martyn, Arch-Deacon of London, our councillors — three or two of them — to warn and call before you and every of you the persons resident within our said city that have not showed to us their benevolence, as is aforesaid, the which by your discretion shall appear to you worth in goods one hundred marks or above; and the same persons to exhort and induce, by all the reason that ye can or may, to make unto us their good and loving grants, certifying us and our council, with all diligence, of the names of the granters and the quantity of the sums, the which their grants amount unto; and that incontinent upon the grants, ye our said mayor and aldermen levy or make to be levied severally within your wards of all and every of the granters the sums so granted; and that all the sums so levied be brought and delivered to you our said mayor in like manner, and form as by our commandant in the last grant of benevolence within the said city it was so done now of late, safely to be kept by you unto the time ye have from us and our council otherwise in commandant; letting you wit that we have given in charge to our said judges our said Chief Baron and our said councillors, three or two of them, to assist, aid, and help you and every of you at any time that ye be disposed to intend thereunto, and will give them know-

ledge of the same; praying you to take this our charge upon you, and to put you in your uttermost devoir for the accomplishment of the premises, as ye love and tender the honour and weal of us and all our realm.

Given under privy seal at our city of Canterbury, the 22nd day of June, the 15th year of our reign.

Edward IV. to Dr. Alexander Legh, his almoner and ambassador in Scotland.[1] *A.D.* 1477.

Master Legh, whereas our brother and cousin, the king of Scots, desireth a marriage to be had betwixt our brother of Clarence and a sister of the said king of Scots; and another marriage also, to be had between our sister, the Duchess of Bourgonne, and the Duke of Albany, his brother; ye shall say, that forsomuch as this desire proceedeth of his entire love and affection anempst[2] us, we thank him as heartily as we can; and forasmuch also as after the old usages of this our realm, no estate nor person honourable communeth of marriage within the year of their doole,[3] we therefore as yet cannot conveniently speak in this matter. Nevertheless, when we shall find time convenient, we shall feel their dispositions, and thereupon show unto him the same in all goodly haste.

Item, Whereas we have other times addressed our letters missive unto Robert Constable for restitution of

[1] Cotton MS., Vesp. C. xvi., fol. 121.

[2] Towards. [3] Mourning; sorrow.

the goods of Thomas Yare, we now have sent for him by privy seal to come unto us in his own person, and to show cause why the said restitution is not done.

Item, In the matter concerning the robbery of the tenants of Sir John Carlile and others of the obeisance[1] of our said brother, the king of Scots, ye shall say that we have written unto our brother, the Duke of Gloucester, warden of our West marches, that he shall see due reformation to be had according to right and custom of the said marches.

E. R.

Edward IV. to the notable and eminent men, administrators of the law and justice in the town of Dunkirk, our right beloved friends.[2] *A.D.* 1477.

Edward, by the grace of God, &c., greeting. The letter of the most excellent Prince Louis, our cousin of France, we have received in due course. Herein we are informed that James Fleure, Maurice Fruache, and others of the Duchy of Normandy, are detained prisoners in the aforesaid town of Dunkirk.

That these same, now prisoners, under confidence of the truce contracted between ourself and our said cousin, had come into our kingdom for the purpose of buying horses and other wares in the month of July last past; and that the same persons in their return to their native

[1] Subjects, persons in subjection.

[2] Lansd. MSS. 804, Art. 5, f. 93. Translated from the Latin original. Dunkirk was formerly a notorious place for pirates; and in writers of the sixteenth century the title of *Dunkirker* was frequently given to a privateer of any nation.

soil, while they were purposing to refresh themselves for a while in our port of Saint Helen's, within our island of Wight, were seized by some Flemings and put on board a certain ship, whose master was one John Bernard, and were by the same, together with their ship, goods, and articles for merchandize, to the value of four hundred and twenty-four crowns, carried captives into the said town of Dunkirk, where they are still detained; and this because they have not paid exorbitant fines or ransoms imposed upon them, and which neither they nor their friends have the power of paying.

Wherefore, in seconding the just and reasonable desire of the before-named prince signified to us by his letters, we beg, require, and exhort your worships, inasmuch as the ports of our kingdom ought to remain free and inviolate to all persons with whom we have peace; and as neither you nor any other, our friends and confederates, can exercise hostility in our ports even against their enemies, unless it redound to our disgrace and blame, that you be pleased to cause those persons, together with ship, goods, and merchandize, so iniquitously and unjustly detained, to be restored and set at liberty; well knowing (as ye do) that such is the custom of all others our confederates, and that many Flemings, in like manner, of late, having been captured by the French, have, at our requisition, been fully restored to their liberties and property. And on this account also we pray you, at our intercession, to do the like to the afore-named prisoners; lest, by your failing in this point, we be forced to have recourse to another remedy, which we

would not. Given at our Palace of Westminster, the 12th day of October, of our Lord's Incarnation, 1477.

The Duke of Gloucester, Lord Protector, (Richard III.) to John Newton, Mayor of York; delivered by Richard Ratcliffe, Knight.[1]

The Duke of Gloucester, brother and uncle of kings, Protector and Defender, Great Chamberlain, Constable, and Admiral of England.

Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well,— And, as you love the weal of us, and the weal and surety of your own self, we heartily pray you to come up unto us in London in all diligence ye can possible, after the sight hereof, with as many men as ye can make defensibly arrayed,— there to aid and assist us against the queen, her bloody adherents, and affinity; which have intended and do daily intend to murder and utterly destroy us and our cousin the Duke of Buckingham and the old royal blood of this realm. And (as is now openly known) by their subtle and damnable ways forecasted[2] the same; and also the final destruction and disherison[3] of you and all other the inheritors and men of honour, as well of the North parts as of other countries that belong

[1] MSS. preserved in the archives of the city of York. This is a very curious and remarkable document. A letter dated on the previous day contains the following intelligence:—"My lord Protector, my lord of Buckingham, with all other lords, as well temporal as spiritual, were at Westminster in the council chamber from ten to two, *but there was none that spake with the Queen.*"

[2] Devised.

[3] Disinheriting.

unto us, as our trusty servant this bearer shall more at large show you: to whom we pray you to give credence. And, as ever we may do for you in time coming, fail not; but haste to us.

Given under our signet at London, the 10th of June, 1483.

To our trusty and well-beloved the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Commonalty of the city of York.

Richard III. to the Noble and Well-born Brother, Leonard De Prato, Knight of Jerusalem and Commissioner of that religious body, to England and Ireland. [1]

Richard by the grace of God, &c. To the noble and high-born Leonard, &c. greeting.

We have heard, illustrious knight, from the grand master and chapter of Rhodes, that the care and charge of visiting the religious houses of the holy order of Saint John of Jerusalem, subject to our sway, as well within our kingdom of England as our lordship of Ireland, hath been consigned to you, on account of your well-tried and well-known singular fidelity, devotion, and integrity. Wherefore, as you are about to come hither and to undergo the burden laid upon your shoulders, you request of us that free access to and free retirement from our dominions, and the liberty of performing your office, may be granted and conceded unto you. We, in this behalf, considering your request so just and agree-

[1] Harl. MSS., 433, Art. 2310., f. 2726. Translated from the Latin.

able to reason, grant, no less from our zeal, devotion, and affection due to such religion than from our sincere love and kindness towards your king our brother, grant you free leave to come; and, when your holy purpose is fully completed, pursuant to your commission, the power of departing. We beg you, in this office, to be no less faithful than diligent in inquiry, correction, and reformation; and pray that your care bestowed everywhere may turn to your honour and contribute to the welfare and advantage of men's morals.

From the palace of Westminster, on the 5th day of December.

Richard III. to Piers Courteis, Keeper of his Wardrobe.[1]
A.D. 1483.

We will and charge you to deliver to the bringers hereof for us the parcels following: that is to say, one doublet of purple satin lined with Holland cloth and interlined with busk.[2] One doublet of tawny satin lined in likewise; two short gowns of crimson cloth of gold, the one with drips,[3] and the other with nets lined with green velvet; one stomacher of purple satin, and one stomacher of tawny satin; one cloak with a cape of velvet ingrained, the bow lined with black velvet; one

[1] MSS. in the archives of the city of York. This is a curious list of costume, exhibiting the wardrobe of a sovereign nearly three centuries ago.

[2] A lath of wood or whalebone to keep the garments or stays straight. The term is still used by ladies.

[3] Hanging tassels.

gown of green velvet lined with tawny satin; one yard and three-quarters course of sike,[1] meddled[2] with gold, and as much black course of silk for our spurs; two yards and a half and three nails of white cloth of gold, for a crynetze[3] for a board; five yards of black velvet for the lining of a gown of green satin; one placard made of the said two yards; and one half and two nails of white cloth of gold lined with buckram; three pair of spurs short, all gilt; two pair of spurs long, white parcel gilt;[4] two yards of black buckram for amending of the lining of divers trappers; one banner of sarsenet of our Lady; one banner of the Trinity; one banner of Saint George; one banner of Saint Edward; one of Saint Cuthbert; one of our own arms all sarsenet; three coats of arms beaten with fine gold for our own person; five coat armours for heralds lined with buckram; forty trumpet banners of sarsenet; seven hundred and forty pensills;[5] three hundred and fifty pensills of tarter; four standards of sarsenet with boars; thirteen thousand quinysans of fustian with boars. And these our letters, &c.

Richard III. to the Bishops.[6]

Reverend Father-in-God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.

Ascertaining you that, among other our lesinesses[7] and cures, our principal intent and fervent desire is to

[1] Silk. [2] Mixed. [3] A table-cover?
[4] Partly gilt. The phrase is used in Shakespeare's Henry IV.
[5] Banners. [6] Harl. MSS. 433, Art. 2322, f. 281. [7] Remedies.

see virtue and cleanness of living to be advanced, increased, and multiplied, and vices and all other things repugnant to virtue, provoking the high indignation and fearful displeasure of God to be repressed and annulled; and this perfectly followed and put in execution by persons of high estate, pre-eminence and dignity, not only induceth persons of lower degree to take thereof example and to ensue[1] the same; but also thereby the great and infinite goodness of God is made placable and graciously inclined to the exaudition[2] of petitions and prayers.

And, forasmuch it is not only known that in every jurisdiction as well in your pastoral care as other, there be many as well of the spiritual party as of the temporal, deliring[3] from the true way of virtue and good living to the pernicious example of other and loathsomeness of every well-disposed person.

We therefore will and desire you, and on God's behalf inwardly exhort and require you that, according to the charge of your profession, ye will see within the authority of your jurisdiction all such persons, as set apart virtue and promote the damnable execution of crime and vices, to be reformed, repressed, and punished condignly after their demerits; not sparing for any love, favour, dread, or affection, whether the offenders be spiritual or temporal. Wherein ye may be assured we shall give unto you our favour, aid, and assistance, (if the case shall so require) and see to the sharp punishment of the repug-

[1] Follow. [2] Hearing.
[3] Wandering or straying through folly. *Deliro*, Lat.

nators [1] and interruptors hereof, if any such be. And, if ye will diligently apply you to the execution and performing of this matter, ye shall not only do unto God right acceptable pleasure; but, over that, we shall see such persons spiritual as been under your pastoral care none otherwise to be entreated or punished for their offences, but according to the ordinances and laws of Holy Church. And, if for the due execution of the premises, any complaint or suggestion be made unto us of you, we shall remit the determination thereof unto the courts of our cousin the Archbishop of Canterbury cardinal. And thus proceeding to the execution hereof, you shall do unto yourself great honour, and unto us right singular pleasure.

Given at Westminster, the 10th day of March.[2]

Richard III. to the Corporation of York.[3]

Trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well. And let you to wit, that the Duke of Buckingham traitorously is turned upon us, contrary to the duty of his

[1] Opposers.

[2] This letter will be read with interest by those who are impressed with Shakespeare's view of Richard's character. It, of course, proves nothing either way. Richard was a consummate hypocrite, and documents like the present exhibit his policy, not his honesty. It must, however, be admitted that the former was often graced by much apparent good sense and feeling.

[3] From the original in the archives of the City of York. The 18th of October was named by the opponents of Richard as the day for the general rising in favour of Henry. The researches of historians have not unveiled the reasons why Buckingham revolted against his former

liegeance, and intendeth the utter destruction of us, you, and all other our true subjects that have taken our part: whose traitorous intent we, with God's grace, intend briefly to resist and subdue. We desire and pray you in our hearty wise, that ye will send unto us as many men, defensibly arrayed on horseback, as ye may goodly make, to our town of Leicester, the 21st day of this present month, withouten[1] fail; as ye will tender our honour and your own weal. And we shall so see you paid for your reward and charges, as ye shall hold ye well content: giving further credence to our trusty pursuivant, this bearer.

Given under our signet, at our city of Lincoln, the 11th day of October, 1483.

To our trusty and right well-beloved the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and community of the city of York.

Richard III. to Sir John Mordaunt and William Salisbury.[2]

18th February, 1484.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And, forasmuch as by the advice of the lords spiritual and

friend and liberal patron. It appears, from MS. Harl. 433, that Richard was at Gainsborough on the day before this letter was written, so it must have been composed immediately on his arrival in Lincoln. On the 13th it was brought to York, and on the same day the council assembled, and gave orders for the equipment of a troop of horse to join the king at Leicester. See *Davies's York Records*, p. 181.

[1] Without.

[2] Mordaunt Family Papers. The parliament began at Westminster, on the 23rd of January, 1484. Its duration is not stated in the rolls of

temporal of this our land, late assembled at our palace of Westminster, we be fully determined, by God's grace, to address us in person with host royal toward the parties of our enemies and rebels of Scotland, at the beginning of this next summer, to subdue and do them all annoyance possible, both by sea and land, in saving as well this our land from such inconveniences (as else were like to ensue), as the honour of us and our blood, and true liege men, inhabited and inherited within this our land. We, having certain and perfect trust of your good will, aid, and assistance to this our great voyage, and knowing how useful and necessary your presence shall be to us in the same, will and desire you right effectually, and nathless[1] charge you in the straitest wise that, incontinent upon the sight of this our writing, ye dispose you to serve us personally in the said voyage, accompanied and apparelled for the war, according to your degree; so and in such wise that, by the 1st day of May next coming, ye be ready, and readily pass forward with us in the said journey, so accompanied as aforesaid. And that, in giving credence to the bearers hereof, ye send us, by them, your intent and mind, and what assistance we shall be sure to have of you in this behalf, as our very trust is in you.

Given under our signet, at our Tower of London, the 18th day of February.

parliament, but appears, from a MS. at York, to have been about twenty-eight days. In the following September, the king was at Nottingham, and there concluded a treaty of peace with James, and entered into a contract for the marriage of his niece Anne, with James's eldest son, the prince of Scotland, afterwards James IV.

[1] Nevertheless.

And, howbeit we propose, by God's help, to set forward on our journey the said first of May next coming; yet nathless we be content, that ye be with us at our town of Newcastle the last day of the said month.

Richard III. to the Mayor and his Brethren of the City of York.[1]

April, 1484.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas it is so, that divers seditious and evil-disposed persons, both in our City of London and elsewhere within this our realm, enforce themselves daily to sow seeds of noise and disclaindre[2] against our person, and against many of the lords and estates[3] of our land, to abuse the multitude of our subjects, and alter[4] their minds from us, if they could by any mean attain to that their mischievous intent and purpose; some by setting up bills, some by message and sending forth of false and abominable language and lies, some by bold and presumptuous open speech, wherethewith the innocent people, which would live in rest and peace and truly under our obeissance,[5] as they ought to do, be greatly abused, and ofttimes put in dangers of their lives, lands, and goods, as oft as they follow the steps and devices of the said seditious and mischievous persons, to our heaviness and pity. For remedy whereof, and to the

[1] MS. archives in the City of York. We have here a very curious and striking evidence of Richard's extreme unpopularity.

[2] Slander. [3] Gentry. [4] Alienate. [5] Obedience.

intent the truth, openly declared, should repress all such false and contrived inventions, we now of late called before us the mayor and aldermen of our City of London, together with the most sad[1] and discreet persons of the said city, in great number, being present many of the lords spiritual and temporal of our land, and the substance of all our household, to whom we largely showed our true intent and mind in all such things which the said noise and disclandre run upon, in such wise as we doubt not all well-disposed persons were and be therewith right well content. Where we also, at the same time, gave straitly in charge as well to the said mayor as to all other our officers, servants, and faithful subjects (wheresoever they be), that from henceforth, as oft as they find any person speaking of us or any other lord or estate of this our land, they take and arrest the same person, unto the time he have brought forth him or them of whom he understood that that is spoken; and so proceeding from one to other, unto the time the first author and maker of the said seditious speech and language be taken and punished according to his deserts. And that whosoever find any seditious bills set up in any place, he take it down, and without reading or showing the same to any other person, bring it forthwith unto us or some of the lords or other of our council.

All which charges and commandments, so by us taken and given by our mouth to our City of London, we notify unto you by these our letters, to the intent that

[1] Sober; serious.

you show the same within all the places of your jurisdiction, and see there the due execution of the same from time to time: as ye will eschew our grievous[1] indignation, and answer unto us at your extreme peril.

Given under our signet, at our City of London, 11th of April.

Richard III. to his Chancellor, the Bishop of Lincoln.[2]

Right Reverend Father in God, &c. Signifying unto you, that it is showed unto us, that our servant and solicitor, Thomas Lynom, marvellously blinded and abused with the late wife of William Shore, now being in Ludgate[3] by our commandment, hath made contract of matrimony with her, as it is said; and intendeth, to our full great marvel, to proceed to effect the same. We, for many causes, would be very sorry that he should be so disposed; and pray you, therefore, to send for him, in that ye goodly may exhort and stir him to the contrary.

And, if ye find him utterly set for to marry her, and none otherwise would be advertised, then, if it may stand with the law of the church, we be content (the time of marriage being deferred to our coming next to London) that, upon sufficient surety being found of her good a-bearing,[4] ye do send for her keeper, and discharge him of our commandment by warrant of these; committing

[1] Serious.
[2] Harleian MSS., No. 2378.
[3] A celebrated prison.
[4] Good conduct.

her to the rule and guiding of her father or any other, by your discretion in the mean season.[1]

To the Right Reverend Father in God, the Bishop of Lincoln, our chancellor.

Henry, Earl of Richmond, before he was King, to his friends in England.[2]

Right trusty, worshipful, and honourable good friends, I greet you well.

Being given to understand your good devoir and entreaty to advance me to the furtherance of my rightful claim, due and lineal inheritance of that crown, and for the just depriving of that homicide and unnatural tyrant, which now unjustly bears dominion over you, I give you to understand that no Christian heart can be more full of joy and gladness than the heart of me your poor exiled friend, who will, upon the instant of your sure advertising what power you will make ready, and what captains and leaders you get to conduct, be pre-

[1] The history of Jane Shore is too well known to need more than a passing notice. She was the mistress of Edward IV., and remained so till the death of that sovereign, when his hypocritical successor singled her out for the ecclesiastical punishment of penance, having first appropriated her jewels and plate, which were of an enormous value. She was condemned to walk through the streets of London, with her kirtle on, and her feet bare. According to More, who observes, that "it were sin to bely the devil," she was very charitable. The story of her life was retained in our chap-books till a very recent period.

[2] MSS. Harl. 787, f. 2. There is no date to this letter; but it must have been written in the spring of 1485, before Henry's arrival in England. It will be observed that he already signs himself as king.

pared to pass over the sea with such force as my friends here are preparing for me.

And if I have such good speed and success as I wish according to your desire, I shall ever be most forward to remember and wholly to requite this your great and most loving kindness in my just quarrel.

Given under our signet. H. R.

I pray you to give credence to the messenger of that he shall impart to you.

Richard III. to the Chieftains of his Army; before the Battle of Bosworth Field.[1]

Most faithful and assured fellows and friends,

Although in the adoption and obtaining of the garland,[2] I being seduced and provoked by sinister counsel, did commit a naughty and detestable act; yet I have with strait penance and salt tears, as I trust, clearly purged the same offence. Which abominable crime, I require you, of friendship, as clearly to forget, as I daily do remember to lament the same.

If you will now diligently call to remembrance in what case and perplexity we stand, and what doubtful peril we be in, then, I with you and you with me, must needs this day take labour and pain to keep and defend with force that pre-eminence and possession

[1] Chronicle of England Rawlinson, MSS. Also, in Stowe's transcripts in the Harl. MSS. I doubt its authenticity.

[2] The crown.

which by your prudent devices I have gotten and obtained. I doubt not, but you know how the devil, continual enemy to human nature, disturber of concord and sower of sedition, hath entered into the heart of an unknown Welshman, (whose father I never knew nor him personally saw) exciting him to aspire [to] and covet our realm, crown, and dignity, and thereof clearly to deprive and spoil us and our posterity. You see, further, how a company of traitors, thieves, outlaws, runagates of our own nation, be aiders and partakers of his fact and enterprise, ready at hand to overcome and oppress us. You see also what a number of beggarly Bretagners and faint-hearted Frenchmen be with him arrived to destroy us, our wives, and children.

Which imminent mischiefs and apparent[1] inconveniencies if we will withstand and repel, we must live together like brethren, fight together like lions, and fear not to die together like men. And, if you consider and wisely ponder all things in your minds, you shall perceive that we have manifest causes, and apparent tokens of triumph and victory.

And to begin with the Earl of Richmond, capitaine[2] of this rebellion. He is a Welch milksop, a man of small courage and of less experience in martial acts and feats of war, brought up by my brother's means and mine, like a captive in a close cage in the court of Francis Duke of Bretagne,[3] and never saw army, nor

[1] Manifest. [2] Captain or leader.

[3] The prince who nobly protected the young Earl of Richmond in his youth when an exile from his own country, notwithstanding the efforts made by Edward IV. to secure his person.

was exercised in martial affairs; by reason whereof he neither can nor is able, of his own wit, or experience, to guide or rule an host. For, in the wit and policy of the captain consisteth the chief adeption [1] of the victory, and overthrow of the enemies.

Wherefore, advance forth your standards, and every one give but one sure stroke, and surely the journey[2] is ours. And as for me, I assure you this day I will triumph by victory or suffer death for immortal fame.

Henry Earl of Richmond (Henry VII.) His proclamation to his Army, on the eve of the Battle of Bosworth Field.[3]

If ever God gave victory to men fighting in a just quarrel, or if He ever aided such as made war for the wealth and tuition[4] of their own natural and nutritive country, or if He ever succoured them which adventured their lives for the relief of innocents, suppressing of malefactors and apparent offenders—no doubt, my fellows and friends, but He of his bountiful goodness will this day send us triumphant victory and a lucky journey over our proud enemy and arrogant adversary. For, if you remember and consider the very cause of our just quarrel, you shall apparently [5] perceive the same to be

[1] Obtaining.

[2] Day or victory, a common word in very early English MSS.

[3] Hall's Union, fol. Lond. 1548. Shakespeare seems to have read this energetic address, as he has in some instances borrowed the very words of Hall in his play of Richard III.

[4] Welfare and defence.

[5] Evidently.

true, godly, and virtuous. In the which I doubt not but God will rather aid us; yea, (and fight for us) than see us vanquished and profligated,[1] by such as neither fear Him nor His laws, nor yet regard justice or honesty. Our cause is so just, that no enterprise can be of more virtue both by the laws Divine and Civil; for, what can be a more honest, goodly, or godly quarrel, than to fight against a captain being an homicide and murderer of his own blood and progeny?—an extreme destroyer of his nobility, and to his and our country and the poor subjects of the same, a deadly mall,[2] a fiery brand, and a burden untolerable? Besides him, consider who be of his band and company,—such as by murder and untruth committed against their own kin and lineage,—yea, against their Prince and Sovereign Lord, have dishearted me and you, and wrongfully detain and usurp our lawful patrimony and lineal inheritance. For he that calleth himself king, keepeth from me the crown and regiment[3] of this noble realm and country, contrary to all justice and equity. Likewise, his mates and friends occupy your lands, cut down your woods, and destroy your manors, letting your wives and children range abroad for their living: which persons, for their penance and punishment, I doubt not but God, of His goodness, will either deliver into our hands as a great gain and booty, or cause them, being grieved and compuncted with the

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[1] Put to flight. From the Latin.

[2] From the Latin, malleus, a *hammer i. e.* a *destroyer.*

[3] Government; rule.

prick of their corrupt consciences, cowardly to fly and not abide the battle. Besides this, I assure you that there be yonder in that great battle men brought thither for fear and not for love, soldiers by force compelled and not with good-will assembled,—persons, which desire rather the destruction than the salvation of their master and captain; and finally, a multitude, whereof the most part will be our friends and the least part our enemies. For truly I doubt which is the greater, the malice of the soldiers toward their captain, or the fear of him conceived by his people. For surely this rule is infallible that, as ill men daily covet to destroy the good, so God appointeth the good to confound the ill; and of all worldly goods the greatest is, to suppress tyrants and relieve innocence, whereof the one is ever as much hated as the other is loved. If this be true, (as clerks[1] preach) who will spare yonder tyrant, Richard Duke of Gloucester, untruly calling himself king, considering that he hath violated and broken both the law of God and man? What virtue is in him which was the confusion of his brother and the murtherer of his nephews? What mercy is in him which fleeth his trusty friends as well as extreme enemies? Who can have confidence in him which putteth diffidence[2] in all men? If you have not read, I have heard clerks say, that Tarquin the proud for the vice of the body lost the Kingdom of Rome, and the name of Tarquin was banished the city for ever. Yet was not his fault so

[1] Scholars.

[2] Distrust.

detestable, as the fact of cruel Nero, which slew his own mother. Behold yonder Richard, which is both Tarquin and Nero! Yea, a tyrant more than Nero, for he hath not only murthered his nephew, being his king and sovereign lord, bastarded his noble brethren, and defamed his virtuous and womanly mother, but also compassed all the means and ways that he could invent how to stuprate his own niece under the pretence of a cloaked matrimony: which lady I have sworn and promised to take to my mate and wife, as you all know and believe.

If this cause be not just, and this quarrel godly, let God, the Giver of Victory, judge and determine. We have (thanks be given to Christ!) escaped the secret treasons in Brittany, and avoided the subtle snares of our fraudulent enemies there, passed the troublous seas in good and quiet safeguard, and without resistance have penetrated the ample region and large country of Wales, and are now come to the place which we so much desired. For long we have sought the furious boar,[1] and now we have found him. Wherefore, let us not fear to enter into the toil, where we may surely slay him; for God knoweth that we have lived in the vales of misery, tossing our ships in dangerous storms. Let us not now dread to set up our sails in fair weather, having with us both it and good fortune. If we had come to conquer Wales, and had achieved it, our praise had been great and our gain more; but, if we win this battle, the whole rich realm of England, with the lords and rulers

[1] So Shakespeare terms him "the bloody and devouring boar."

of the same, shall be ours, the profit shall be ours, and the honour shall be ours.

Therefore, labour for your gain, and sweat for your right. While we were in Burgundy, we had small livings and little plenty of wealth or welfare. Now is the time come to get abundance of riches and copie[1] of profit, which is the reward of your service and merit of your pain. And this remember with yourselves, that before us be our enemies, and on either side of us be such, as I neither surely trust nor greatly believe. Backward we cannot flee; so that here we stand, like sheep in a fold, circumsepted and compassed between our enemies and doubtful friends. Therefore, let all fear be set aside, and like sworn brethren, let us join in one; for this day shall be the end of our travail and the gain of our labour, either by honourable death or famous victory; and, as I trust the battle shall not be so sour as the profit shall be sweet. Remember the victory is not gotten with the multitude of men, but with the courages of hearts and valiantness of minds. The smaller that our number is, the more glory is to us, if we vanquish. If we be overcome, yet no laud is to be attributed to the victors, considering that ten men fought against one; and, if we die, so glorious a death in so good a quarrel, neither fretting tyne[2] nor cancarding[3] oblivion shall be able to obfuscate[4] or raze out of the book of fame either our names or our godly attempt.

And this one thing I assure you, that in so just and

[1] *Store*, or *plenty*, from the Latin *copia*. [2] Pain or sorrow.
[3] Cankering. [4] To offuscate, to dim or cloud.

good a cause and so notable a quarrel, you shall find me this day rather a dead carrion on the cold ground,[1] than a free prisoner on a carpet in a lady's chamber. Let us, therefore, fight like invincible giants, and set on our enemies, like untimorous tigers, and banish all fear, like ramping lions. And now advance forward, true men against traitors, pitiful[2] persons against murtherers, true inheritors against usurpers, the scourges of God against tyrants. Display my banner with a good courage; march forth like strong and robustious champions, and begin the battle like hardy conquerors. The battle is at hand, and the victory approacheth, and, if we shamefully recule[3] or cowardly flee, we and all our sequel[4] be destroyed and dishonoured for ever.

This is the day of gain, and this is the time of loss; get this day victory, aud be conquerors; and lose this day's battle, and be villains;[5] and, therefore, in the name of God and Saint George, let every man courageously advance forth his standard.

Circular letter of Henry VII. after the Battle of Bosworth Field.[6] *A.D.* 1485.

Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, Prince of Wales, and Lord of Ireland, strictly chargeth and commandeth, upon pain of death, that no

[1] A curious example of Shakespeare's plagiarism, who writes, "Shall he this body on the earth's cold face."

[2] Merciful. [3] *Retreat*, from the French *reculer*.

[4] Posterity. [5] Disgraded men, or slaves.

[6] MS. Records, preserved in the archives of the city of York.

manner of man rob or spoil no manner of commons[1] coming from the field; but suffer them to pass home to their countries and dwelling-places, with their horses and harness.[2] And, moreover, that no manner of man take upon him to go to no gentleman's place, neither in the country, nor within cities nor boroughs, nor pick no quarrels for old or for new matters; but keep the king's peace, upon pain of hanging, &c.

And, moreover, if there be any man offered to be robbed and spoiled of his goods, let him come to Master Richard Borrow, the king's serjeant here, and he shall have a warrant for his body and his goods, unto the time the king's pleasure be known.

And moreover, the king ascertaineth[3] you, that Richard Duke of Gloucester, lately called King Richard, was lately slain at a place called Sandeford, within the shire of Leicester, and there was laid openly, that every man might see and look upon him. And also there was slain upon the same field, John, late Duke of Norfolk, John, late Earl of Lincoln, Thomas, late Earl of Surrey, Franceys Viscount Lovel, Sir Walter Deveres, Lord Ferrars, Richard Ratcliffe, knight, Robert Brackenbury, knight, with many other knights, squires, and gentlemen: on whose souls God have mercy![4]

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[1] Common soldiers. [2] Armour. [3] Informeth.

[4] It was currently reported, immediately after the battle of Bosworth, that the Earls of Lincoln and Surrey, and Viscount Lovel, were among the slain: and we here see Henry believing the rumour, although it is well known that these noblemen survived the conflict. The report,

Henry VII. to the Earl of Ormond.[1]

Right trusty and right well-beloved cousin, we greet you well, and have tidings that our rebels landed the fifth day of this month in our land of Ireland. Wherefore, and forasmuch as we have sent for our dearest wife and for our dearest mother to come unto us, and that we would have your advice and counsel also in such matters as we have to do for the subduing of our said rebels, we pray you that, giving your due attendance upon our said dearest wife and lady mother, ye come with them unto us, not failing hereof as ye purpose to do us pleasure.

Given under our signet, at our castle of Kenilworth, the 13th day of May, 1487.

To our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin, the Earl of Ormond, chamberlain to our dearest wife the Queen.

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however, shows on whose side they fought. The following lines of Drayton may here be quoted as a paraphrase of the above:—

"Upon this fatal field, John Duke of Norfolk died,
The stout Lord Ferrers fell, and Ratcliff that had long
Of Richard's counsels been, found in the fields among
A thousand soldiers, that on both sides here were slain.
O Redmore! then, it seemed thy name was not in vein,
When with a thousand's blood the earth was coloured red."

Drayton's Polyolbion.

[1] Cotton. MSS. Titus, B. xi. fol. 24. The rebellion alluded to was that raised in behalf of a foolish, untutored boy, named Lambert Simnel, who had had "greatness thrust upon him" by being made to personate the Earl of Warwick. Henry soon crushed this rising, and not only forgave its magnanimous leader, but promoted him to the office of a turnspit!

Henry VII. to Sir Gilbert Talbot.[1]

Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well; and not forgetting the great malice that the Lady Margaret of Burgundy beareth continually against us, as she showed lately in sending hither of a feigned boy, surmising him to have been the son of the Duke of Clarence, and caused him to be accompanied with the Earl of Lincoln, the Lord Lovel, and with great multitude of Irishmen and of Almains,[2] whose end, blessed be God, was as ye know well. And foreseeing now the perseverance of the same her malice, by the untrue contriving eftsoon of another feigned lad called Perkin Warbeck, born at Tournay, in Picardy, which at first into Ireland called himself the bastard son of King Richard; after that the son of the said Duke of Clarence; and now the second son of our father, King Edward the IVth, whom God assoil; wherethrough she intendeth, by promising unto the Flemings and other of the archduke's obeissaunce,[3] to whom she laboureth daily to take her way, and by her promise to certain aliens, captains of strange nations, to have duchies, counties, baronies, and other lands, within this our royaume, to induce them thereby to land here, to the destruction and disinheritance of the noblemen and other our subjects the inhabitants of the same, and finally to the subversion of this our royaume, in case she may attaine to her malicious purpose, that God de-

[1] The original of this document is preserved in the archives of the Earl of Shrewsbury at Hatfield House.

[2] Germans. [3] Subjects.

fend.[1] We therefore, and to the intent that we may be alway purveied[2] and in readiness to resist her malice, write unto you at this time; and will and desire you that, preparing on horseback, defensibly arrayed, four score persons, whereof we desire you to make as many spears, with their custrells,[3] and demi-lances, well-horsed as ye can furnish, and the remainder to be archers and bills,[4] ye be thoroughly appointed and ready to come upon a day's warning for to do us service of war in this case. And ye shall have for every horseman well and defensibly arrayed, that is to say, for a spear and his custrel twelvepence; a demi-lance ninepence; and an archer, or bill, on horseback, eightpence by the day, from the time of your coming out unto the time of your return to your home again. And thus doing, ye shall have such thanks of us for your loving and true acquittal in that behalf as shall be to your weal and honour for time to come. We pray you herein ye will make such diligence as that ye be ready with your said number to come unto us upon any our sudden warning.

Given under our signet at our castle of Kenilworth, the twentieth day of July (1493).

To our trusty and well beloved knight and
councillor, Sir Gilbert Talbot.

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[1] Forbid. [2] Prepared. [3] Attendant squires.
[4] Men armed with bills or halberts. The demi-lances were horsemen who carried light lances.

Henry VII. to the Mayor and Citizens of Waterford, concerning Perkin Warbeck.[1] 1497.

Trusty and well beloved, we greet you, and have received your writing, bearing date the first day of this instant month; whereby we conceive that Perkin Warbeck came unto the Haven of Cork the 25th day of July last passed, and that he intendeth to make sail thence towards our county of Cornwall: for the which your certificate in this part, and for the true minds that you have always borne towards us, and now especially for the speedy sending of your said writing which we received the 5th day of this said month, in the morning, we give unto you our right hearty thanks, as we have singular cause so to do; praying you of your good perseverance in the same, and also to send unto us by your writing such news from time to time as shall be occurrent[2] in those parts; whereby you shall minister unto us full good pleasure to your semblable[3] thanks hereafter, and cause us not to forget your said good minds unto us in any your reasonable desires for time to come.

Given under our signet, at our manor of Woodstock, the 6th day of August.

Over this we pray you to put you in effectual dili-

[1] Lambeth Palace MSS., 632, f. 251. This letter refers to Perkin Warbeck's second approach to Cork. The next is an important document, giving an official account of the capture of this impostor, certified by the king himself. There are perhaps few more extraordinary incidents in history to be pointed out than is afforded by the brief career of Perkin Warbeck, so remarkably illustrated by the present letters.

[2] Happening. [3] Like.

gence for the taking of the said Perkin, and him so taken to send unto us; wherein you shall not only singularly please us, but shall have also for the same, in money counted, the sum of a thousand marks sterling for your reward; whereunto you may verily trust, for so we assure you by this our present letter, and therefore we think it behoveful that you set forth ships to the sea for the taking of Perkin aforesaid. For they that take him, or bring or send him surely unto us, shall have undoubtedly the said reward.

HENRICUS REX.

To our trusty and well-beloved the Mayor and his brethren of our city of Waterford.

From the same to the same.[1]

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: and, whereas Perkin Warbeck, lately accompanied by divers and many our rebels of Cornwall, advanced themselves to our city of Exeter, which was denied unto them, and so they came to the town of Taunton. At which town, as soon as they had knowledge that our chamberlain, our steward of household, Sir John Chynie,[2] and other our loving subjects with them, were coming so far forth towards the said Perkin, as to our monastery of

[1] Lambeth Palace MSS., 632, f. 251.

[2] Sir John Chenie, or Cheney, was at the battle of Bosworth Field, an officer remarkable for his strength and prowess; he was unhorsed by Richard himself in that battle.

Glastonbury: the same Perkin took with him John Heron, Edward Skelton, and Nicholas Ashley, and stole away from his said company about midnight, and fled with all the haste they could make. We had well provided beforehand for the sea-coasts, that, if he had attempted that way, (as he thought indeed to have done) he should have been put from his purpose, as it is coming to pass. For, when they perceived they might not get to the sea, and that they were had in a quick chase and pursuit, they were compelled to address themselves unto our monastery of Beaulieu; to the which, of chance and of fortune, it happened some of our menial servants to repair, and some we sent thither purposely. The said Perkin, hereon, Skelton, and Ashley, seeing our said servants there, and remembring that all the country was warned to make watch and give attendance, that they should not avoid nor escape by sea, made instances unto our said servants to sue unto us for them, the said Perkin desiring to be sure of his life, and he would come unto us, and show what he is; and, over that, do unto us such service as should content us. And so, by agreement between our said servants and them, they encouraged[2] them to depart from Beaulieu, and to put themselves in our grace and pity. The abbot and convent hearing thereof demanded of them why and for what cause they would depart. Whereunto they gave answer in the presence of the said abbot and convent, and of many other, that, without any manner of constraint, they would come unto us of their free wills, in trust of our

[1] This word is inserted, there being an *hiatus* in the original MS.

grace and pardon aforesaid. And so, the said Perkin came unto us to the town of Taunton, from whence he fled; and immediately after his first coming, humbly submitting himself unto us, hath of his free will openly showed, in the presence of all the council here with us, and of other nobles, his name to be *Piers Osbeck*, whereas he hath been named Perkin Warbeck, and to be none Englishman born, but born of Tournay, and son to John Osbeck,[1] and sometime while he lived comptroller of the said Tournay; with many other circumstances too long to write, declaring by whose means he took upon him this presumption and folly.

And so, now this great abusion,[2] which hath long continued, is now openly known by his own confession. We write this news unto you, for we be undoubtedly sure, that calling to mind the great abusion that divers folks have been in, by reason of the said Perkin, and the great business and charges that we and our realm have been put unto in that behalf, you would be glad to hear the certainty of the same, which we affirm unto you for assured truth.

Sithence the writing of these premises, we be ascertained that Perkin's wife is in good surety for us, and trust that she shall shortly come unto us to this our city of Exeter, as she is in dole.[3] Over this, we understand by writing from the Right Reverend Father in

[1] He was afterwards compelled to read this confession openly while in the stocks in London before the public, one day at Westminster Hall, the next at Cheapside.

[2] Abuse. [3] Sorrow, vexation.

God, the Bishop of Duresme,[1] that a truce[2] is taken betwixt us and Scotland; and that it is concluded that the King of Scots shall send unto us a great and solemn ambassady for a league and peace to be had during both our lives. And sithence[3] our coming to this our city of Exeter for the punition[4] of this great rebellion, and for so to order the parts of Cornwall, as the people may live in their due obeisance[5] to us and in good restfulness unto themselves for time to come: the commons of this shire of Devon come daily before us in great multitudes in their shirts, the foremost of them having halters about their necks, and full humbly with lamentable cries for our grace and remission, submit themselves unto us; whereupon, doing, first, the chief stirrers and misdoers to be tried out of them, for to abide their corrections according, we grant to the residue our said grace and pardon. And our commissioners, the Earl of Devon, our chamberlain, and our steward of household, have done and do daily in likewise in our county of Cornwall.

Yeven[6] under our signet at our said city of Exeter, the 17th day of October.[7]

To our trusty and well-beloved, the Mayor and his brethren of our city of Waterford.

[1] Durham. [2] *Trux* in the original MS. [3] Since.
[4] Punishment. [5] Obedience, subjection.
[6] The old form of the word *given*.
[7] The subsequent history of Warbeck may be briefly related. After his submission, he was taken to London, and strictly ordered to confine himself within the precincts of the palace. A close prisoner for six months, he determined to make his escape, which he accomplished; but the coast was so vigilantly guarded, that he was compelled to render himself up to the prior of the monastery at Shene. From thence he

Henry VII. to Sir Gilbert Talbot.[1] 1497.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well, signifying unto you, that whereas Perkin Warbeck and his wife were lately set full poorly to the sea by the King of Scots, and after that, landed within our land of Ireland, in the wild Irisherie, where he had been taken by our cousins, the Earls of Kildare and of Desmond, if he and his said wife had not secretly stolen away. The same Perkin, being so upon the sea, is coming to land in our county of Cornwall, with two small ships and a Briton pinnace, whereupon we have sent our right trusty counsellor, the Lord Daubeney, our Chamberlain, by land, towards those parties to arredie[2] our subjects for the subduing of him, and our right trusty counsellor, the Lord Broke, steward of our household, by water, with our army on the sea, now late returned to take the said Perkin, if he return again to the sea. And we shall in our own person, if the case so require, go, so accompanied thitherward, with our Lord's mercy, without delay, as we shall subdue the said Perkin, and all other that will take his part, if any such be. And therefore we heartily pray you to address you unto us with six score tall[3] men on horseback, defensibly arrayed, and no

was conveyed to the Tower; but, being detected in conjunction with Warwick in forming new plans of escape, and plots against the government, he ultimately suffered the punishment of death in November, 1499.

[1] Archives of the Earl of Shrewsbury.

[2] Prepare or make ready.

[3] Able, strong. Not *tall*, in the ordinary sense of the word, at least not necessarily so. Shakespeare uses the term in a similar sense. "As *tall* a man of his hands as any in Windsor."

more, without any long delay; and to meet with us, at our manor of Woodstock, the twenty-fourth day of the present month; and at your coming unto us we shall so content you for your and their conduct money, and also wages, as of reason, ye shall hold you pleased, and that ye fail not hereof, as our especial trust is in you. Given under our signet, at our said manor, the twelfth day of September.

To our trusty and well-beloved knight for our body, Sir Gilbert Talbot.

Henry VII. to his mother, Margaret, Conntess of Richmond.[1]

Madam, my most entirely well-beloved lady and mother, I recommend me unto you in the most humble and lowly wise that I can, beseeching you of your daily and continual blessings. By your confessor, the bearer, I have received your good and most loving writing, and by the same have heard at good leisure such credence as he would show unto me on your behalf, and thereupon have sped him in every behalf, without delay, according to your noble petition and desire, which resteth in two principal points; the one for a general pardon for all manner of causes, the other is for to alter and change a part of a license which I had given unto you before for to be put into mortmain at Westminster, and now to be

[1] MS. Harl. 7039, fol. 34.

converted into the use of the University of Cambridge,[1] for your soul's health, &c., all which things, according to your desire and pleasure, I have, with all my heart and good will, given and granted unto you and my dame, not only in this but in all other things that I may know should be to your honour, and pleasure, and weal of your soul. I shall be as glad to please you as your heart can desire it, and I know well, that I am as much bounden so to do, as any creature living for the great and singular motherly love and affection that it hath pleased you at all times to bear towards me. Wherefore, mine own most loving mother, in my most hearty manner I thank you, beseeching you of your good continuance in the same. And madame, your said confessor hath moreover shown unto me, on your behalf, that ye, of your goodness and kind disposition, have given and granted unto me such title and interest as ye have, or ought to have, in such debts and duties which is owing and due unto you in France by the French king, and others; wherefore, madame, in my most hearty and humble wise, I thank you. Howbeit, I verily [think] it will be right hard to recover it, without it be driven by compulsion and force, rather than by any true justice, which is not yet, as we think, any convenient time to be put in execution. Nevertheless, it hath pleased you to give us a good interest, and mean, if they will not conform them to reason and good justice, to defend or offend at a convenient time, when the case shall so require here-

[1] One of the divinity professorships at Cambridge was founded by the Countess of Richmond.

after; for such a chance may fall, that this, your grant, might stand in great stead for a recovery of our right, and to make us free, whereas we be now bound, &c. And verily, madam, an[1] I might recover it at this time, or any other, ye be sure ye should have your pleasure therein, as I, and all that God has given me, is, and ever shall be[2] at your will and commandment, as I have instructed Master Fisher[3] more largely herein, as I doubt not but he will declare unto you. And I beseech you to send me your mind and pleasure in the same, which I shall be full glad to follow, with God's grace, which send and give unto you the full accomplishment of all your noble and virtuous desires. Written at Greenwich, the 17th day of July, with the hand of your most humble and loving son,

H. R.

After the writing of this letter, your confessor delivered unto me such letters and writings obligatory of your duties in France, which it hath pleased you to send unto me, which I have received by an indenture of every parcel of the same. Wherefore, eftsoons,[4] in my most humble wise I thank you; and I purpose hereafter, at better leisure, to know your mind and pleasure further therein. Madame, I have encumbered you now with this my long writing, but one thinks that I can do no

[1] If. [2] This word is not in the MS.

[3] In 1501, this Dr. Fisher was chosen Chancellor of the University; and when St. John's College was finished in 1516, he opened it with due solemnity, and became afterwards a great benefactor to it.

[4] Again.

less, considering that it is so seldom that I do write, wherefore I beseech you to pardon me, for verily, madame, my sight is nothing so perfect as it has been, and I know well it will appayre [1] daily, wherefore I trust that you will not be displeased, though I write not so often with mine own hand, for on my faith I have been three days or [2] I could make an end of this letter.

To my Lady.

Henry VII. to the Bishop of Bath and Wells.[3]

20th September, 1497.

Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well, and have received your writing, by the which we conceive how there is word that Perkin is landed. Truth it is that he is so landed, and that our commons of Cornwall take his part, amongst whom, on Monday last, the eighteenth day of September, there was not one gentleman. On Sunday, the seventeenth of September, Perkin and his company came afore our city of Exeter, about one after noon, and there inranged themselves in the manner of a battle, by the space of two hours. Within that our city were our cousin of Devonshire, Sir William Courtney, Sir Jo. Sapcotes, Sir Piers Edgecombe, Sir Jo. Croker, Sir Walter Courtney, Sir Humfrey Fulforth, with many other noblemen, both of

[1] Impair. [2] Before.

[3] MS. Dodsworth, Bibl. Bodl. vol. 50, art. 4. This letter was copied by Dodsworth from the original belonging to the Plumpton family.

our counties of Devonshire and Cornwall. This Perkin sent for to have deliverance of our said city, which was denied unto him by our said cousin. Whereupon Perkin and his company went to the east gate, and to the northern gate, and assaulted the same, but it was so defended, (blessed be God!) that Perkin lost above three or four hundred [1] men of his company, and so failed of his intention. On the morrow after, the eighteenth day, Perkin and our rebels made a new assault at the said northern gate, and eastern gate, like as by the copy of the letter from our said cousin of Devonshire enclosed, ye shall move to understand more at large. Then Perkin and his company, if they come forward, shall find before them our chamberlain, our steward of household, the Lord Saint Maurice, Sir John Cheney, and the noblemen of the South Wales, and of our counties of Gloster, Wiltshire, Hampshire, Somerset, and Dorset, and at their back the garrison of our said city of Exeter. And we, with our host royal, shall not be far, with the mercy of our Lord, for the final conclusion of the matter. We have proclaimed also, that whoso bringeth the said Perkin alive unto us, he shall have the sum of a thousand marks, and all their offences forgiven, first and last. We trust soon to hear good tidings of the said Perkin.

Given under our signet, at our manor of Woodstock, the twentieth of September.

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[1] Other accounts say two hundred, which is more likely to be correct.

The contents of the King's Letters sent by his Grace to the Pope's Holiness, concerning provision to be made to resist the malicious disposition of the Great Turk, enemy to the Christian faith.[1] *An.* 17 *Henry VII.* 1502.

First his highness rehearseth the contents of the brief sent from our holy father the Pope unto him, bearing date the 3rd day of November last past, by the which brief the king's grace perceived the great peril that the commonwealth of the Christian faith by war made by the said Turk stand in, and daily is like to stand in more, if short remedy be not provided.

And for provision in this behalf, the Pope's holiness hath named certain legates to be sent to all Christian princes, and to cause such princes as be in dissention, division, or variance, to be in love, peace, and unity, in such peace and unity had, the said legates to enter communication and take conclusions with the said princes, how and in what manner and form it should be best to withstand the said Turk.

And also that the legates should have authority to publish jubilee, and to receive subsidies and dismes[2] in such realms and countries as they should be sent to, by which subsidies and dismes the war against the Turk might be maintained and continued.

[1] MS. Cotton. Cleop. E. iii. fol. 150. This document is a precious memorial of royal shuffling. A century or two previously a voyage to the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean would not have presented so many difficulties, and it is somewhat amusing to observe the ingenuity with which Henry renders an objectionable scheme beset with imaginary obstacles.

[2] Tenths.

Also our holy father the Pope showeth in his brief that he, of his good mind, with the uttermost of his goods, and his brethren the cardinals likewise with their goods, will do all that in them is to withstand the malice of the said Turk; and furthermore in defence of the Christian faith, our said holy father the Pope, of his entire and blessed mind, so that he may have assistance of the king of Spain or the king of France in their persons, will go in his own proper person to oppress the great and most cruel malice of the same Turk.

Also the Pope writeth of the tripartite war that his highness had decreed and determined against the said Turk, and how the Hungarians and Bohemians and the Poles, the which shall make war by land against the said Turk, shall have aid in money of the princes of Italy, and other that may not personally be in the wars, the which discreet ordinance and provision the king's highness right well considereth, marketh, and commendeth.

Furthermore the same our holy father hath required and designed the king's grace, that, seeing if remedy be not had this winter, the Turk is like the next summer to be in the parts of Italy to the subversion of Christian faith, to call the nobles of this land together without delay, and to understand their mind in this behalf. And the Pope his holiness thinketh it right accordingly, that the king in his person, with navy convenient, give his assistance against the Turk on his part, and desireth the king's grace to be certified speedily, when in person, with that navy, and in what place he will apply.

(Here beginneth the King's answer to the contents of the Pope's Brief.)

The contents of the premises considered, the king's grace hath been, is, and always will be, as sorry as any Christian prince that the Turk should anything attempt against the Christian religion, and willeth and desireth as much as any Christian prince, that the same Turk may be at this time withstood, rebuked, and punished, that he ne noon [1] of his successors shall dare hereafter so temerously [2] anything attempt against the Christian faith. The king, considering that the malice of the Turk and jeopardy of the Christian faith is at hand, greatly commendeth the singular wisdom of our holy father the Pope in causing peace and unity to be made among the Christian princes which be at dissention and division, which dissentions and divisions hath given the Turk great boldness to attempt the war against the Christian faith—albeit the king's grace is, and of long time hath been, thanked be God, at peace with all Christian princes.

Furthermore the king's grace, considering that the Pope in his own person, having the assistance of the king of France or the king of Spain, intendeth to go against the said Turk and to jeopard his life, thinketh his highness worthy great thanks of God and man; forasmuch as he had lever [3] offer himself to the jeopardy of war to suffer death, than to see the Christian faith in

[1] Neither he nor any. [2] Rashly. [3] Rather.

jeopardy, in that following the example of Christ, whose place he occupieth here on earth, and sorry the king's highness is that he, seeing the distance of his realm from those parts may not conveniently with his navy and power in so holy a purpose give assistance according to his mind.

Also the king's grace greatly commendeth his two cousins the kings of France and Spain, and specially him that will give personal assistance unto the Pope's holiness in this behalf. And it is to be thought that one of them might give better assistance in this cause than any other prince, seeing that they both have navies, masters, mariners knowing the jeopardies of those seas, and accustomed to sail in those parts, and more expert than the subjects of any other princes being in further parts, and not accustomed to sail to those parts. And also that the assistance of those two princes may be given with less than half the charge of other princes may, being in farther parts.

Item, war to be made by land by the Germans, Hungarians, Bohemians, and Poles, against the said Turk. The king's grace greatly commendeth, seeing that they be best acquainted and expert in faicts [1] of war and frauds [2] of the said Turks, and also be nigh unto them and may do to them much annoyance, and with less cost and charge than other nations.

And whereas the Pope's holiness desireth to know the king's mind, with what navy and at what time he will personally come to resist the said Turk's malice,

[1] Deeds; acts. [2] Stratagems.

The king's grace showeth that he hath as good zeal and love to the defence of the Christian faith as any prince living: and, according to the tenour of the Pope's brief, hath called the nobles of this land, as well spiritual as temporal, being of his council in this behalf, the which counsellors, after long communication and great reasoning, thought that if the king should send any help or navy by the sea it should little profit, considering the far distance of those parts so to be besieged, troubled or obsessed [1] by the said Turk; and also, the English mariners have not been accustomed to sail any farther but to Pyses, [2] which is not half the journey, for it is six or seven months' sailing from Pyses to those parts where they might do the Turk any annoyance; and so all the cost done by sea should little or nothing profit in this behalf.

Item, the said counsellors say that the galleys coming from Vennes [3] towards England be commonly seven months sailing, and sometimes more. Also they say that if so be the king should send from his royame [4] his navy by the sea, the men being in the same should need twice or thrice victualling, or they should come where they should apply, and yet then peradventure they should apply where no succour would be had. And also the said ships might be sore troubled with contrary winds, so that they should not come to do any good in this great cause; and also considering the great storms and perils of the sea which commonly by fortune and hap [5] parteth ships

[1] Besieged; surrounded. [2] Pisa in Italy? [3] Venice.
[4] Kingdom; realm. [5] Chance.

and driveth them to several coasts, and twiseth [1] them often times to perish, and so there should be great costs and charges done by the king, and yet no annoyance thereby done to the said Turk.

If there should be any number of ships and men, and such as were according to the king's honour, sent for the said expedition, yet considering the distance of his realm and the nighness of their realms, the king's costs and charges, albeit they should be very large, should appear far less than the charges of the other princes being nearer those parts, the which might with far less cost send ten thousand than the king's grace two thousand.

Item, if the king should prepare captains and other men of war, and apparel, and habiliments, and necessaries to the said ships, it should be May, whatsoever diligence were done on the king's part, ere they should be ready to sail: and it should be the last end of September ere the said ships should pass the straits of Morrok;[2] and great difficulty to find any mariners able to take the rule and governance of the said ships sailing into so jeopardous and far parts. The premises considered, it is hard and almost not feasible to send any navy thither for any profit by them to be done therein.

The king's highness greatly sorroweth, and more than he can express, that in so laudable an holy expedition he can yet give the Pope's holiness no profitable assistance by the sea as his mind is, thinking that for war to be made by the séa, only one prince, head ruler and governor of great authority, power, name, dignity, policy,

[1] Causeth?

[2] Straits of Gibraltar.

and wisdom, is to be adjoined to the Pope's holiness in this behalf, to the which prince all other princes, after according and convenient rates in this behalf, may be contributary: and best it were to have not many rulers and governors, for where be many heads and governors, oftentimes there is much distance,[1] divisions, and debates.

And if it should please his cousin, the king of France, or his cousin and relation the king of Spain, to take the charge of so holy an expedition, considering the commodities of ports, navies, and vitaill[2], which the said princes have plenty of, and the nearness of divers isles unto the said Turks, there is no prince so convenient as one of the said princes.

And to that prince of the said princes that will take upon him, and with effect and good diligence will resist the said Turk, the king both with men and money meetly and conveniently for his part will give assistance, other princes, not personally being present to the said expedition, in likewise doing their part and being contributary; and also the king of the Romans, Hungary, Bohom,[3] and Polon, in like manner effectually making war by land against the said Turks.

Furthermore, if neither of the said kings of France and Spain will take upon him the charge to give in proper person assistance to the Pope's holiness, the king, for great love, zeal, and good mind that he beareth to the religion of Christ's faith, and to his vicar here in earth, seeing that the Pope's holiness hath offered to go

[1] Discord; dispute. [2] Provisions. [3] Bohemia.

against the Turk in his own person, rather than his holiness should be left sole and destitute of assistance of other Christian princes, to the great slander and jeopardy of all Christian faith, and to the note and reproach of Christian princes, the king's grace, albeit that he is farther from those parts than other princes be, and also that his costs, by reason of such farness, should be greater than the other princes should, yet, having a sufficient space to prepare himself to so long a journey, is contented in his own proper person, and with army according, to take upon him the said charge, to come personally and join with the Pope's said holiness, if the same Pope will personally go against the said Turk. And the king, during the war, so to continue according to his rate.

Provided that the Pope's holiness shall assign a certain and a sure port to which the king's grace with his army may come, and also shall provide sufficient navy, masters, and mariners, armours and habiliments of war and vitail, and all other necessary things, to receive the said king and all his people, and all his and their stuff and carriage, and for the continuance of the same as long as the king and his army shall have need thereof.

Item. That the said kings of France and Spain, and all other princes christened, which may not personally come according to their states and dignities, be in this behalf contributory, partly in men, and partly in money. And also the Pope shall provide that the king's grace and all his armies shall have sure and free journeying and passing by all lordships, cities, towns, fortresses,

castles, and other places, whatsoever they be, and all manner of places to be open to the said king and his army, and sufficient vitail and other necessaries to be ministered to the said king and his host. And also that the King of the Romans, with his army by land, and the Kings of Hungary, Bohom, and Polon, according to the decree of the pope's holiness, begin to war against the said Turk, and so all the said kings and each of them, with their sufficient armies, continue with effect in the said wars, and in nowise cease them without express assent of the pope's holiness and the king's express assent.

Item. It is thought to the king necessary that, during the said war against the Turk, all Christian princes put apart divisions, dissensions, debates, and wars, and defer them unto other times, and the mean time to surcease[1] of all assaults, injuries, [and] hostilities, and surely and faithfully keep peace and concord among themselves, the which thing cannot be done but only by the pope's power and authority.

Item. The king's grace remembereth a clause in the brief which the pope's holiness sent to him, wherein was contained that the pope intended to send a legate to divers roialmes[2] and countries for certain aids, jubilees, and dymes[3] to be published, the which legacy the pope's holiness, for divers reasonable and urgent causes, hath revoked, which revocation the king's grace thinketh not unprofitable.

Item. Whether the king for the said expedition in

[1] Put a stop to. [2] Kingdoms. [3] Tenths.

his person go against the Turk, or be contributory to such princes as shall go, it is thought expedient that the pope's holiness command the said aids, jubilees, and dymes to be published by his vice collectors and other such as shall be deputed by him into this roialme, which thing, under so great a burden and charge to be borne and maintained, shall not be a tittle profitable.

Item. The king's grace trusteth that the pope of his singular wisdom will benignly admit the king's said causes and reasons as lawful, and his said offers equally to ponder, and not to think the king in his behalf to seek any colourable occasions or excuses, but to be as ready to the defence of Christian faith as any prince christened. And in this behalf neither to spare goods, richesse,[1] nor men, nor yet his own proper person, if it be need; neither in no wise it shall stand by the king, as far as in him lieth, but that this expedition against the said Turk, to the land of God and holy church, and to the defence of the universal faith, shall proceed with effect, and so continue till such time as it shall please Almighty God to give the victory against the enemies of His said faith and religion, and in this quarrel Christ's banners be spread against the said Turks.

Henry VII. to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London.[1] *A.D.* 1507.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And forasmuch as we doubt not but it is and shall be to you

[1] Money.

[1] Cotton MSS. Titus B. i, f. 5.

and all other our true subjects right joyful and comfortable to hear and understand, from time to time, specially of such causes and matters as redound to the great honour and exaltation, universal weal, surety, and restfulness of us, this our realm, and our subjects of the same; we signify unto you that, by our great labour, study, and policy, this great and honourable alliance and marriage betwixt the Prince of Castile and our right dear daughter the Lady Mary, is now (our Lord be thanked) betwixt our ambassadors and the orators, as well of our brother and cousin, the king of the Romans, as of the said young prince at our town of Calais, accorded, agreed, concluded, and finally determined with a great, ample, and large amity and consideration to the surety, strength, defence, and comfort, as well of us and the said prince, as of either our realms, countries, dominions, and subjects. And, considering the noble lineage and blood whereof the said young prince is descended, which is of the greatest kings and princes in Christendom; remembering also the regions, lands, and countries, wherein, by rightful inheritance, he shall succeed, with the manifold commodities and goodness that may follow and ensue to us and this our realm, as well by the said alliance and amity, as also by the free and sure intercourse of merchandize, that our and his subjects may and shall have in the regions and countries specially being so nigh joined together as they be; we think verily that, though the same shall be right chargeable, yet for the honour, surety, weal, and profit of this our said realm, none so noble marriage can any where

be found; so that, by the mean thereof and the other alliance which we have with our good son, the king of the Scots, this our realm is now environed, and, in manner, closed in every side with such mighty princes, our good sons, friends, confederates, and allies, that, by the help of our Lord, the same is and shall be perpetually established in rest and peace, and wealthy condition, to our great honour and pleasure, the rejoicing and comfort of all our loving friends, confederates, and allies, the fear and discomfort of our enemies, that would intend or presume to attempt anything to the contrary.

The premises, therefore, considered, we do advertise you of the same, to the intent that, like as we doubt not but ye and every of you will take pleasure and comfort in hearing thereof; so, with convenient diligence, upon sight of these our letters, ye will cause demonstrations and tokens of rejoicing and comfort to be made in sundry places within our city there, as well by making of fires in such places as you shall think convenient as otherwise in the best and [most] comfortable manner that ye can, so that thereby ye may be evidently known what gladness and rejoicing is generally taken and made.[1]

Henry VIII. to Ferdinand II. of Arragon.[2]

To the most serene and most excellent Prince Lord Don Ferdinando, by the grace of God, king of Arragon, of

[1] The conclusion of this letter has been lost, but it is most probable that very little is wanting. The contract of marriage here alluded to was not ultimately ratified, and Mary was married to Louis in 1514.

[2] Egerton MSS. vol. 616. folio 35.

the two Sicilies and Jerusalem, our very dear father, Henry, by the same grace, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, health and prosperous success.

We have the letters of your serene highness, dated to us on the fourth of this month from Turre de Gylles, whereby we have been affected with violent joy, beyond what can be expressed; in the first place, as your majesty, having read our letters and having learnt the consummation of our marriage with the most serene lady the queen, your daughter, hath yourself conceived no little delight at that event, and hath in consequence made a public demonstration and festival[1] in your own person: the past delay of which long tormented your majesty's mind. In the second place, as your serene highness greatly commends ourself, in having completed this marriage so liberally, and in having rejected all other ladies in the world that have been offered to us; showing hereby our singular love, which we bear towards your majesty and the most illustrious house of Arragon, as well as to the most serene lady herself the queen our very beloved consort. From this cause, your majesty, just like a most excellent and true father, forming a most true judgment of our inward and cordial feeling towards

[1] Henry's marriage with Katherine of Arragon took place at Greenwich, on June 11th, "and was crowned afterwards, on the day of St. John, with all the rejoicings in the world." See an old MS. quoted in Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens, vol. vi. p. 93. Ferrara says, "her father, king Ferdinand, was so well pleased at his daughter's second marriage, that he celebrated it by grand festivals in Spain, particularly by the *jeu de cannes*," or darting the jereed, in which Moorish sport Ferdinand assisted in person.

yourself, most generously offers to us yourself and all yours. Wherefore, for so singular and such paternal affection wherewith you honour us, we owe undoubtedly to your serene highness boundless thanks, (and greater than these, if possible) accepting most willing your paternal offers, and confidently intending to avail ourself of them when opportunity happen; offering equally and in like manner to you ourself, and ours, and whatever shall ever possibly proceed from us, inasmuch as this our strict alliance and bond so requires and demands: so that all things may be common, both ours with you and yours with us.

And, as regards that sincere love, which we have to the most serene queen our consort,—her eminent virtues daily more and more shine forth, blossom, and increase so much, that, if we were still free, her we would yet choose for our wife before all other. And, we will so strive to answer your majesty's expectation and fatherly love to ourself, that you may be convinced we neither omit, nor neglect, in any particular, our filial duty; but in all points repay the reciprocal debt of love and attention to our utmost power. All these things, of course, you will be pleased to relate, in our name, to the most illustrious lady, the queen of Castile, your daughter, our very dear kinswoman, and to commend ourself to her in singular degree.

However, as regards the ambassador, whom your majesty purposes to send, to sojourn with us, we shall see him very cheerfully; both that from him we may be assured at length of your majesty's happy state, (which

we earnestly desire to know) and likewise that he may be able, from time to time, to acquaint you of our daily proceedings.

May the God Almighty preserve you long, happy, prosperous, and safe, with daily increase of auspicious events!

From our palace at Greenwich, 26th of July, 1509, and in the first year of our reign.

Henry VIII. to the Emperor Maximilian, soliciting his co-operation and assistance against the Pope's enemies.[1]

Most sacred majesty, cousin, and most dear brother, we keep constantly (as the peculiar state of the times and our very close relationship require) near your majesty's person our beloved ambassador Master Robert Wingfield, to whom we make known from day to day what things happen to us. We command him to relate all those same to your majesty diligently, which we doubt not that he has faithfully done. Very lately, however, we wrote to him our just, reasonable, and most urgent motives for having taken up arms against the enemies of our most holy lord the pope and against the invaders of the holy Roman Church, and how we have already made an expedition against them. For we have

[1] MS. Cotton. Galba B. iii. art 7. Translated from the Latin original. Maximilian had at first appeared to hesitate, but he afterwards joined the allies, although not with the enthusiasm that animated Henry VIII. The fleet prepared by Henry, mentioned in this letter, consisted of eighteen ships, and was commanded by Sir Edward Howard.

a good and well equipped fleet at sea, and likewise a land army, now for these five days past ready in our port of Hampton,[1] as a little while ago we signified more fully through our said ambassador, and waiting for nothing but prosperous winds, in order to cross the sea against our foresaid enemies. We have besides got other and large supplies both of men and other things prepared and ready for service, of which your majesty shall shortly be informed. Lately, however, we have learnt of a sad misfortune and great disaster, which has happened at Ravenna, to our foresaid lord the pope, and to the most serene king of Arragon, our very dear father; and how their enemies, without regard of God or man, by seizing first one, then another city, are continually advancing; and much is it to be feared that they will seize not only the kingdom of Naples, all Italy, and Sicily, but, not content with these territories, they may forthwith, at their pleasure, make spoil of the holy Roman Church, and of all things spiritual and temporal. If this should happen (which God avert) both your majesty and we, the other Christian princes, would be forced to do homage to them; and all Christendom, by degrees, would bow the neck to their yoke.

Wherefore it seemeth to us that not only the dignity and estate of the Roman Church must be defended, but that we must look, in due time, to ourselves, to our own affairs, to our children and successors. And we doubt not but your majesty very plainly sees how much that undisguised lust for dominion among our said enemies is

[1] Now called Southampton.

to be feared by the most illustrious prince of Castile, your kinsman and my very dear brother; for the kingdom of Naples, and many other states, belonging, in full right, to your illustrious kinsman and my very dear brother, are nearest to the danger. Wherefore, we beg and entreat your majesty that you also will undertake the defence of the holy Roman Church, of which you are the chief protector, and be willing to enter upon, and vigorously wage war against the foresaid enemies this just, holy, and somewhat necessary war, in order to remove the common danger; in which you will have, as your most close and faithful allies and brethren, the foresaid most serene king of Arragon and ourself, who, on our part, if your majesty undertake the foresaid war, will both do what we have said, on our royal word, and as becomes a most faithful brother in arms, and your majesty's son. We promise and engage that we will never desert your majesty in this undertaking; nor will we make treaty, truce, or any peace with these enemies, without the advice and consent of your majesty, and of our said father the king of Arragon.

According to the tenour of this letter, we both promise and assure that we will carry on the foresaid war, if begun, with vigour, and that we will continue, even to an honourable issue, the same, just as may seem good to your majesty and the said king of Arragon. As a proof and confirmation whereof, we, calling Almighty God to witness, have written these with our own hand.

Wherefore, in defence of the above said holy Roman Church, and of your own majesty, and of the most illus-

trious lord the prince of Castile, your kinsman and my dear brother, and for the security of your and our successors, and for the common weal, undertake the said war with the aforesaid lord, most serene, the king of Arragon, and with us, your most faithful allies and most loving brother. That it will so please your majesty, we are confident; and that you will not object to send us a letter, written with your own hand, similar to ours; wherein you will do us a most acceptable favour. May you fare most happily!

From our Palace at Greenwich, 8th day of May, 1512.

Your good brother and son,

HENRY R.

A letter sent to Sir David Owen by King Henry VIII.[1]

22d February, 1513.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas we, according to our duty to God, and to His Church, at the instant requests and desires of the Pope's holiness and other Christian princes, our confederates and allies, have, for the defence of the said Church, being by our enemy the French king oppressed, and the extinctness of the detestable schisms raised by certain perverse cardinals, and maintained by the same king,

[1] MS. Lansd., 1236, art. 4. Henry was preparing very zealously, at this period, to collect an armament against France, and he was shortly afterwards plentifully supplied with money by his subjects in support of that project. A contemporary document on the subject has been printed in "Howard's Letters."

entered actual war against him, intending (God willing) by the aid and assistance of such our confederates and allies as shall join with us in that, God's quarrel, to pursue and continue the said wars, and personally to proceed into France with an army royal next this summer, as well for that our purpose, as for recovering our right there. We signify unto you that, for our better assistance in that behalf, we have appointed you, amongst others, to pass over with us in this journey and voyage, with the number of a hundred able men meet for the wars, to be by you provided; whereof three score to be archers and forty bills[1] on foot, sufficiently harnessed[2] and appointed for the wars.

Willing and desiring you, therefore, not only to prepare yourself for that purpose, but also with all speedy diligence to put the said number of men in convenient readiness accordingly, and to ascertain[3] us thereof by your writing on this side the beginning of April next coming at the farthest, and at the same season to send unto us some discreet servant of yours to receive money for jackets,[4] and conducting of the said number; to the intent that you with the same number may be ready to be set forward towards us, at any time after, when we by our writing shall require you so to do.

And these our letters, signed and sealed with our own hand and signet, shall be a sufficient warrant and discharge unto you in that behalf, as though the same had passed under our great seal of England, any act, statute,

[1] Soldiers carrying bills or halberts. [2] Covered with armour.
[3] Inform. [4] Jacks, or coats of mail.

or ordinance heretofore made to the contrary, concerning retainers, notwithstanding. Fail ye not to accomplish the premises, as you tender the honour and surety of us, and of this our realm, and the advancement and furtherance of this meritorious voyage.

Given under our signet, at our manor of Greenwich, 22nd February, the fourth year of our reign.[1]

Henry VIII. to Cardinal Remus.[2]

My Lord Cardinal,

We inform you that we have received from Rome two or three letters of yours concerning the death of Pope Julius, and the election of his holiness our Lord Pope Leo.[3] And most acceptable to us is this singular diligence, which you have exercised in performing all our affairs there, according to our wish and purpose. Although we have been much grieved at hearing of the death of Pope Julius, yet, when news was brought us that my lord cardinal of Medicis had been advanced, by Divine grace, to that high dignity and authority, we felt incredible consolation and joy, when we considered with what discretion, with what humanity, in short, with what piety and conscientiousness, he instantly confirmed that most holy league entered into for the defence of the

[1] This document is endorsed, "A letter signed by him to Sir Daniel Owen, to provide a hundred men to go into France, with the king, in behalf of the pope, against the French king."

[2] MS. Harl. 3462, art. 6, translated from the Latin original in MS.

[3] Julius II. died on the 20th or 21st of February, 1513, and Leo X. was elected to succeed him on March 11th.

Church of God, and attached himself to the same; as we have clearly understood from the very devout brief of his holiness, wherein he signifies that he ardently favours ourself and the Catholic king, our very dear father, and on us he rests all his hope,[1] *on us*, upon whose shoulders leans all the burden of expenses, of dangers, of the disaster of the war, kindled in order to defend the church, and free it from the savage tyranny of the king of the French, who is the common enemy of all Christian princes.

And, forasmuch as we ourself have congratulated his holiness upon his admission to so elevated a station, returning to him never-ending thanks for the singular goodwill wherewith he honours us, as appears from our letters (a copy of which, here enclosed, you will receive) and as we think proper to leave to your lordship all the remaining duty of congratulation. Nevertheless, since his holiness, after having exhorted us to declare our opinion to him, as to the making of peace, yet begs and conjures us to persevere in our holy and pious purpose, as we promised to do in our very last letter, which we wrote to Julius, his predecessor. We wish and desire your devout lordship to signify to his holiness that,

[1] The brief referred to is thus mentioned in a letter from Queen Catherine—"The brief that the pope sent to the king I was very glad to see, and I shall be more to hear that he is the mean either to make an honourable peace for the king, or else help on his part as much as he can, knowing that all the business that the king hath was first the cause of the Church, and with this and the emperor together I trust to God that the king shall come home shortly with as great victory as any prince in the world; and this I pray God send him without need of any other prince."

although this encouragement of his to the settling of peace be praiseworthy, honourable, good and holy, yet, when we reflect on the incredible amount of money which we have expended in order to maintain this war against our chief enemy the king of the French, in order to defend the Church of God and the honour of the Apostolic See; when, moreover, we reflect on the great preparations which, by land and sea, we have made in order to continue the aforesaid war against the same our enemy, having brought thereto the assistance of the emperor,[1] and of our very dear father, the Catholic king, both of whom have leagued with us to invade the French, we by no means can consent to any kind of peace, without great dishonour as well as loss to ourself. Moreover, the confederation entered into between us, the emperor, and the Catholic king, forbids us to accept any terms of peace without their mutual consent.

Wherefore (if I am not exceeding mistaken) his holiness, having weighed carefully the aforesaid reasons, considering and judging a peace now to be to us prejudicial, since we have begun so great a war to defend the Church, has in his brief exhorted us rather to continue the war begun, than to desist from war, by condescending to a base and dishonourable peace; especially since the greatest danger might ensue after this sudden reconciliation to our chief enemy, who aims at nothing else but the subjugation of the high pontiff, the universal Church—in short, all Christian princes, to his will and pleasure. And for this mark of his holiness's

[1] Who is styled *Cæsar's Majesty* in the MS.

good will towards us, we beg of your lordship to return him exceeding thanks in our name.

Your devout lordship will relate to his holiness, that our fleet of twelve thousand men is now put to sea, in order to invade the enemy; and we have now above forty thousand soldiers, most powerful means, wherewith we, in person, will attack the French towards the end of the month of May; and the commander of the first armament, with supplies and the engines of war, is now crossing the sea. When this our declaration of war against the king of the French, with whom he had a profound and advantageous peace, was made, in order to defend the Church, and free it from tyranny, and when this confederation, which our most holy lord has now engaged in, was entered into, we firmly believed[1] that his holiness would follow the footsteps of his predecessor in defending the Church of God, and protecting his allies; so as to confirm and fulfil all the points of the league, and bind himself expressly, as his predecessor has done, both to us and all the other allies, that we may be safe and well assured of his firm concurrence in this matter. And we not merely desire that his holiness send to us this engagement done in his own hand, but also entreat him, in God's name, to declare open war on the common enemy, as his aforesaid predecessor promised us in his many briefs and letters, which your devout lordship has caused to be written to us to that effect. For he often promised us that he would send his army, together with the viceroy of Naples, into the south of

[1] *Credimus* in the MS., instead of *credidimus*.

France, and would cause the Venetians to do the same; so that, this point being accomplished, the wickedness and pride of the common enemy would be checked: and our most holy Lord, the Church, Italy, all Christian princes, would live in peace and tranquillity, and the common expedition against the infidels would be concluded upon, by the unanimous assent of us all. For, if we should assent so suddenly to making peace, when as yet the ambitious and haughty spirit of the common enemy is not subdued, who strives after nothing else but that he may again subjugate all Italy, and make the Church of God his menial servant, no little danger would hang over us, as his holiness, I am well assured, right well considers. For his holiness, in his brief, very sagaciously writes, "The above-named common enemy, under pretence and colour of peace, would be able to compass (as his custom is) many things against the Church and her confederates. Wherefore as we, in conjunction with the emperor, and our very dear father, the Catholic king of Arragon, shall presently make a beginning of the war, in which (as we hope by God's favour) the extreme ambition and impiety of the common enemy will be restrained, it seemeth to us more expedient to teach him by force of arms to know himself, than to make with him a sudden peace; for, if we should spare him now, almost overpowered, we should give him good motive and reason for openly attacking his holiness, ourself, and the other partners of the confederation. In short, he would be puffed up with pride and ambition much more than before.

Besides, since our most holy father exhorts us to persevere in our purpose against the enemies of the Church, and to observe all that we have promised to his aforesaid predecessor, your devout lordship may, honestly and honourably in our name, ask this same of his holiness, and entreat him to lend his aid to us, not only with spiritual arms, according to the league; but likewise with temporal power, and an army, as his predecessor promised. We, led on by this hope, have mustered very great forces against the enemies of the Church, and have spent an incalculable sum of money: of which facts his holiness, as we hope, since he is so kind, wise, and noble, will not be unmindful, but will perform whatever his predecessor has promised to us: to which your devout lordship will move his holiness, with as much discretion as you can. And we further wish that you seek a confirmation of all the bulls which he hath given us against the enemies of the Church, and an amendment of certain ones which do not satisfy us. Among other things, we supplicate his holiness to renew the interdict of the kingdom of France. We have lately understood from those worthy of credit, that the schismatics are labouring with all their might to be reconciled with our sovereign lord, and to be restored to their dignities; which, if they should obtain, we should be greatly disgraced, if they so suddenly be restored to favour, and reinstated into their dignities, who have raised an abominable schism, and caused it to spread over the whole Christian world. Moreover, if his holiness pardon those schismatics, he will give great occasion to other seditious cardinals for

perpetrating the same crime against his dignity, when they see so impious and detestable a sin left unpunished. Thirdly, if he shall grant pardon to them, he will disparage very much his confederates, and take away from all good Christians, so disposed, their inclination to put schism to the rout, when they shall see that he, whom it chiefly affects, does not punish schism (as we say) to the full. Although that reconciliation may appear to some full of humanity and pity on the part of his holiness, yet, as he is mortal, and one of those schismatics, if they were restored, might (fortune so favouring) attain the pontificate after his death, which God avert!—one who, of course, would favour the king of the French, and would do everything at his nod, to the utter injury and destruction of all princes who have striven to extinguish and pluck up by the roots this detestable schism, it is binding on his holiness, with all diligence and discretion, to consider and weigh this matter, and not to consent thereto, before he commune with other Christian princes, his and the Church's confederates; especially as his holiness, by the articles of the most holy treaty, is bound to make peace with no prince who shall be an enemy to the league, in the number of whom are the schismatics; nay, they are the principal, for whose extermination this league was entered into.

We have lately understood that the king of Scots, when he was informed that an interdict of his kingdom had been conceded to us by Pope Julius, despatched to Rome the Bishop of Murray, not only to impede, in behalf of the French, the carrying out and enforcing of the

aforesaid interdict, but also to treat with our sovereign lord Pope Leo, to deny to us a fresh confirmation of this latter interdict; your devout lordship, therefore, may look to this matter. We ourself do not wish the census to be published against him, before he break peace openly with us, contrary to his promises and oath, even as reason, laws, and justice demand.

The aforesaid king of Scots lately made use of these words to our dean of Windsor, ambassador at his court:—"I will appeal from the carrying out of that interdict." Then our ambassador answered, that he could not appeal from the proceedings of the Pope, who had no superior. "Then," says he, "I will appeal to Peter John, the pirate and apostate, admiral of the French king's galleys;" and many other scoffing words he used against the authority of our sovereign lord. Which folly (as we think) ought to be chastised, since it is unseemly and impious so shamefully to speak against the sovereign pontiff, the head of our religion. Further, he said he would not yield obedience to the Pope, if he should take any measure against himself for breaking peace with us; and other haughty and arrogant language he added, as he is wont to do.

We have received a copy of the said King of Scot's letter, which he sent to the sacred College of Cardinals, wherein he exhorts them to settle an universal peace among Christians. Moreover, he accuses ourself, that we refused a passage to his ambassadors, who were sent into France to treat of the same peace. He also imputed to us that, when he had sent to us the brief of

Pope Julius deceased, written to himself about treating of peace, that we affirmed the aforesaid pope had changed his opinion on that point; with other specious and high-coloured sayings; he wishing to succour the French king rather than the Christian Commonwealth, or to prepare any expedition against the infidels; which he is neither willing to do, nor could he, if he were willing. Though all these things are vain and silly, we wish your devout lordship to answer them, that contentious slanderings may be done away.

After the engagement at Ravenna, Pope Julius, being driven to straits, wrote to all Christian princes, concerning making peace; but, when he considered that by such a peace the Frenchman might recover his strength, and return into Italy with refreshed vigour, to the greatest detriment of the church; when, moreover, he called to mind that he could make no peace without the consent of the confederates; he not only wrote to us a brief, counteracting the former, that we should persevere in the design of carrying on the war, but also he sent a brief to the king of Scots, wherein he begged him not to suffer himself to be deluded by the French, and to follow our footsteps; he signified also to him that a treaty was entered into between himself and the emperor. Having found this opportunity, we have answered the king of Scots, that we cannot assent to any peace. This was the reason that we did not grant a safe-conduct to the bishop of Murray, that he might go in safety to the king of the French. He however had raised a rumour (as his custom is), that he had from

us authority to settle a peace; which affair would have brought on us no little dishonour. Yet for all this, we have offered to the aforesaid bishop a safe-conduct, if he wished to go to Rome, to learn our sovereign lord's opinion as to treating of the aforesaid peace.

The aforesaid king complains of the damages done at sea to himself by our subjects. In truth, his subjects, under colour of peace, joined with the French, have done more damage to our kingdom than ours to his; which we never would have endured, if good faith had not induced us to preserve that peace compounded between us and confirmed by ecclesiastical censures.

We will your lordship to lay all these matters in our name before our sovereign Lord and the sacred College of Cardinals.

From London, 12th day of April, 1513.

Henry VIII. to the Dean of Windsor.[1]

20th April, 1513.

By the contents of your letter, dated at our town of Berwick, the 13th day of the present month, we understand that, by the report of our right trusty and well-beloved the Lord Dacre, you suppose our brother, the King of the Scots, will keep good peace both by land and sea; so that they may have free and sure passage by the sea for armies or merchandize, without disturbance of our army; and may also have license, by safe-conduct, to repair to this our realm in form accustomed; intending

[1] Cotton. MSS., Caligula. B. vii., art. 15.

(as you write) to make redress from henceforth of all attempts by the sea, they having the semblable of us, and to remit the information of all other attempts to justice: wherein you desire to know our pleasure.

As unto the first,—if it be of truth, as you write, the said king shall do like a virtuous prince, in observing his oath and promise, like as for many considerations he is bound to do, if he gravely consider the same; and, if he so observe and keep the perpetual peace, it shall be best for him at length. However, expedient it is to take good regard to this overture made unto you; for, in case it were allowably practised by the Scots to have liberty to pass their great ships and others ships of war into France, without impressment of our navy, for the assistance of our enemies, this fair apparent offer might turn us to displeasure. Whereunto we will you take substantial regard; and, in case they shall disclose and promise to you, that they be minded to continue in good peace and amity [so] good it shall be that you obtain and get some substantial writing testifying the same, for in idle promises and bare words there is little trust. And inasmuch as our navy is now on the sea, if they meet with the navy of Scotland going into France for the aiding of our enemies, they will undoubtedly encounter with them.

And yet, after the declaration of his majesty towards the peace, if our said army and navy meet any of his ships' associate and accompany with our said enemies, they must and will repute and take them as enemies; for else, under colour of amity, and for passage of their

ships of war under colour of merchandize to and from France, they might do unto us great annoyance and many displeasures; which, if good congrue,[1] we must and will prevent, and not suffer it, if we can: and as you shall learn from his lordship, so we will, that you advertise us with diligence.

And, as touching the restitution to be made of all spoils from henceforth, and remitting of the redress of all attempts passed, to justice, we think it a good way; for if justice be carefully ministered, our subjects have sustained more damage in treble, than the Scots, and due to have larger restitution therefore accordingly; so that our warder and commissioner have sufficient grounds to content the Scots with reason; and the said Scots not to have any cause of grief. In the ministering of which justice, good it shall be, that as many ills be redressed on both parts as can conveniently be; and, of the residue being in traverse and doubtful on both parts, to make a final end, by abolition.

And, as unto the ship taken at Berwick, if the said Scots will be contented to make redress and restitution of Bannister's ship, and such other of our friends as were lately taken, we can be agreed the said ship shall be delivered; authorizing you that are sent our commissioner heretofore, to our town of Berwick for that purpose.[2]

[1] If good luck go with us.

[2] The Dean of Westminster, to whom this letter is addressed, was the king's ambassador in Scotland.

Henry VIII. to James IV. of Scotland.[1]

12th August, 1513.

Right excellent, right high, and mighty prince,

We have received your writing, dated at Edinburgh the twenty-sixth[2] day of July, by your herald Lyon the bearer, wherein, after rehearsal and accumulation of many surmises, injuries, griefs, and damages done by us and our subjects to you and your lieges, the specialities whereof were superfluous to rehearse, remembering that to them and every of them, in effect, reasonable answer, founded upon law and conscience, hath heretofore been made to you and your council,—[3]

You not only require us to desist from farther invasion and utter destruction of your brother and cousin the French king, but also certify us that you will take part in defence of the said king; and do that thing which you trust may rather cause us to desist from farther pursuit of him; with many contrived occasions and communications, by you causeless sought and imagined, sounding to the breach of the perpetual peace passed, concluded,

[1] MS. Harl., 787, art. 54. Other copies of this letter are preserved in MS. Harl., 2252, art. 38, and MS. Cotton. Calig. B. vi. art. 21.

[2] Some copies say the 16th.

[3] This violent and passionate letter was in answer to one from James to Henry, in which he complained of the murder of Barton, of the detention of Scottish ships and artillery, of the protection given to the bastard Heron, and of the refusal to pay the legacy left by Henry VII. to his daughter the Scottish queen; requiring the retreat of the English army out of France, and stating that he had granted letters of marque to his subjects, and would take part with Louis, his friend and ally.—Lingard, vol. vi. p. 20.

and sworn betwixt you and us; of which your imagined quarrels, causeless devised to break to us, (contrary to your oath promised, all honour, and kindness), we cannot marvel, considering the ancient accustomable manners of your progenitors, which never kept faith and promise longer than pleased them.

Howbeit, if the love and dread of God, nighness of blood, honour of the world, law and reason, had bound you, we suppose you would never have so far proceeded, specially in our absence; wherein the Pope and all princes christened may well note in you dishonourable demeanour, when you, lying in await, seek the ways to do that in our absence which you would not have been well advised to attempt, we being within our realm and present. And for the evident approbation hereof, we need none other proof nor witness, but your own writings heretofore to us sent, we being within our realm; wherein you never made mention of taking part with our enemy the French king, but passed your time with us till after our departure from our said realm. And now, percase,[1] you supposing us, so far from our said realm, to be destitute of defence against your invasions, have uttered the old rancour of your mind, which in covert manner you have long kept secret.

Nevertheless, we remembering the brittleness of your promise, and suspecting, though not wholly believing, so much unsteadfastness, thought it right expedient and necessary to put our said realm in a-readiness for resisting

[1] Perchance.

of your said enterprises, having firm trust in our Lord God and the righteousness of our cause, and,[1] with the assistance of our confederates and allies, we shall be able to resist the malice of all schismatics and their adherents, being by the general council expressly excommunicate and interdicted; trusting also in time convenient to remember our friends and requite you and our enemies, which by such unnatural demeanour have given sufficient cause to the disherison[2] of you and your posterity for ever from the possibility that you think to have to our realm, which you now attempt to invade.

And, if the example of the king of Navarre being excluded from his realm for assistance given to the French king, cannot restrain you from this unnatural dealing, we suppose you shall have like assistance of the said French king, as the king of Navarre hath now, who is a king without a realm; and so the French king peaceably suffereth him to continue: whereunto good regard should be taken.

And, like as we heretofore touched in this our writing, we need not to make any further answer to your manifold grieves[3] by you surmised in your letter. Forasmuch as, if any law or reason could have removed you from your sensual opinions, you have been many and oftentimes sufficiently answered to the same, except only to the pretended grieves touching the denying of our safe-conduct to your ambassador to be last sent unto us: where-

[1] This word is inserted from the copy contained in the Cottonian MS.

[2] Disinheriting. [3] Grievances.

unto we make this answer,—that we had granted the said safe-conduct, and if your herald would have taken the same with him, like as he hath been accustomed to solicit safe-conducts for merchants and others heretofore, you might as soon have had that as the other; for we never denied safe-conduct to any your lieges to come unto us, and no further to pass. But we see well, like as your herald had heretofore made sinister report contrary to truth; so hath he done now in this case, as is manifest and open.

Finally, as touching your requisition to desist from further attempting against our enemy the French king, we know you for no competent judge of so high authority to require us in that behalf. Wherefore, God willing, we purpose with the aid and assistance of our confederates and allies to prosecute the same; and, as you do to us and our realm, so it shall be remembered and acquitted hereafter, by the help of our Lord and our patron Saint George, who, right excellent, right high, and mighty prince, &c.

Given under our signet in our camp before Tyrwin,[1] the 12th day of August, in the fifth year of our reign.

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[1] Terouenne. Queen Catherine thus writes to Wolsey on the day after this letter was indited:—"Till I saw your letter, I was troubled to hear so near the king was to the siege of Terouenne, for the inconvenience of his own person; but now, I thank God, ye make me sure of the good heed that the king taketh of himself to avoid all manner of dangers."

Henry VIII. to Lord Darcy. [1]

10th March, 1514.

Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.—And by the continue [2] of your letters sent unto us by our posts, bearing date the seventh day of this present month, we perceive such hasty news as were lately sent to you from the council of our town of Berwick, concerning the preparation made by the Scots for the besieging of our said town; desiring us, therefore, to furnish our said town with men, victuals, artillery, and ordnance, according to such articles as you have also now sent unto us, showing the great necessity and danger that our said town standeth in, if it be not relieved in time.

For which your advertisement we con [3] you right good thank; ascertaining you, that we shall with all diligence possible cause our said town to be furnished of all things that shall be necessary for the same. Howbeit, we be credibly informed, that in the complete of the ordinary of soldiers for the defence of that town there is great default; inasmuch as they be not resident there, nor yet the number of gunners, which should be fifty, be not complete; but, as we hear, there be not six good gunners there: which is a great default, for other soldiers, which be no gunners, be put in the lieu and place of them for lucre of wages. And, if that number had been furnished, you should not need to have sent for so

[1] MS. Cotton. Calig. B. vi. art. 34. Lord Darcy was governor of Berwick. He is styled *Captain* in the endorsement.

[2] Contents. [3] Give.

many to us at this time. Nevertheless, for the more speedy furniture[1] of our said town, we shall provide everything necessary forthwith; but albeit we be content you shall attend upon us in our voyage to France this summer with five hundred men, whereof one hundred to be horsemen, and the residue[2] to be footmen, archers, and bills; yet, in the mean time, and for the better defence of our said town (whereof you be captain) in this hasty need we will that you forthwith, afore you shall have sent the crew of five hundred able men according to your indenture, resort personally to our said town, taking with you Sir Ralph Ebers, who acquitted himself there, now of late, right substantially, and is right valiant, meet, and able to be there in your absence as your deputy; to whom we have now written for that purpose; and your son may do unto us better service elsewhere, like as he right thankfully did at the late voyage against the Scots. Wherefore, we will that you commit not the charge of that town in your absence to your said son.

And, as touching wages, as well for the monthly payment of the said crew, as for such arrearages[3] as be due to the crew that lately was there, we shall see substantial provision made therefore in all haste, and in semblable manner, for victuals; so that nothing shall lack. And, as touching such great ordnance as be desired by you to be sent thither, being specified in the bill of your articles, it is thought our said town is sufficiently furnished of

[1] Furnishing. [2] Remainder. [3] Arrears.

such ordnance, as it shall appear unto you by a bill[1] herein closed, containing the specialities of such ordnance as now resteth in our said town. Nevertheless, as touching gunpowder, harkebusses, bows, arrows, lead, artificers, labourers, tools, and all other things mentioned in your said bill, we have committed the charge thereof to our servants, William Pawne and George Lawson, who shall resort to our said town with all the said necessaries in all convenient haste.

And, as touching the lack of victuals now being in our said town, the default thereof resteth not in us, but in our porter there, Strangewishe, to whom we have advanced the sum of five hundred pounds, which sum, as we be informed, he employeth daily in merchandize, to his great profit and advantage, and leaveth our said town unprovided, to the great damage thereof; like as we now have written unto him in most straitest manner, as he will answer unto us at his uttermost peril, to see the said town furnished of victuals accordingly, besides other provision as we have caused to be made, of one thousand quarters of wheat and as many quarters of malt: in the specialities whereof you shall be, within brief time, more specially advertised.

Given under our signet, at our manor of Greenwich, the 10th day of March, 1514.

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[1] This list is still preserved in the Cotton. MSS., but has not been considered worthy of publication.

Henry VIII. to the Marquis of Mantua.[1]

16th July, 1514.

Henry, by the grace of God King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, &c., to the excellent Lord Prince, Francis Marquis of Mantua, standard-bearer of the Holy Roman Empire, our very dear friend, greeting.

We have learnt from our intimate friend, Thomas Cene, with what affection, magnificence, and expression of singular favour and regard towards us he has been entertained by your excellency; and that your very noble stables were thrown open to him, and that he was earnestly requested to choose for us what horses he most approved of. When he refused to avail himself of this generosity, he says your excellency's self selected the four most beautiful of them all for us, which we have received with your letters by your messenger, John ——, a man most circumspect and careful, and very well versed not only in horsemanship, but also in courteous behaviour, with which I have been marvellously pleased; and we have read, to our very great delight, what you write touching your ardent affection towards ourself, and we have heard most gladly what the same gentleman, your messenger, has reported to us with so much discreetness in your name. And so many kind offices of yours towards ourself have at once presented themselves to us,

[1] MS. Harl., 3462, art. 34. Translated from the Latin original in manuscript.

that it is not very easy to determine for which we should first return thanks. But, foremost, we thank you most heartily for that your supreme good will towards ourself, which we cannot mistake; and for your exceeding desire of deserving well at our hands, as well as for those most beautiful, high-bred, and surpassing steeds just sent to us. These we hold highly welcome and acceptable, as well because they are most excellent, as that they have been sent from the very best feeling and intention. Moreover, most grateful to us has proved that enlarged bounty which you have exercised towards the aforesaid our intimate friend. And, although we have long ago honoured you, in no small degree, for your well-proved nobleness of mind, your skill in war, and virtues; now, however, when we discern your excellency to be so singularly well affected towards us, we receive and number your excellency with your most noble children among our dearest friends, and we hold all belonging to you in the very highest esteem. And we entreat you that, in whatever matter (however great it may be) you suppose it to be possible for us to be serviceable to your own dignity and interest, and that of any of yours, you will signify it confidently to us, and we will do our endeavour, that you may be convinced of our reciprocal good will towards you. And farewell, with prosperity and happiness!

From our Palace of Eltham, 16th day of July, 1514.

HENRY.

Henry VIII. to Pope Leo.[1]

12th August, 1514.

O, Father most blessed,

After many and various disputes and altercations held, on this side and that, between the ambassadors of the most serene king of the French, at our court, and our own councillors, we at length, by divine favour, and under the guidance, advice, and influence of your holiness, have laid down our arms, which we had taken up in defence of that holy see, and have entered into peace and covenant, by sea and land, with the same king of the French, on terms equitable and honourable as well to your holiness as to ourself. For in this peace and covenant we have comprehended your holiness before all, and that holy see, and its universal empire, and Bononin, expressly by name. We have also included the Holy Empire and the most illustrious lord the Prince of Castile, and have given them a year to begin, at three months hence, to declare their mind and resolution, whether they are willing to be in this peace or covenant, or not; but to your holiness we have prescribed no particular day. Moreover, we have used all zeal and endeavour, nor omitted anything, that we might comprise the Duke of Milan also in the same peace and covenant; but that we have been in no way able to effect.[2] However,

[1] Harleian MSS., 3462, art 32. Translated from the Latin.

[2] "I was ascertained also that our lord the king hath used his utmost endeavour to make a semblable covenant with the noble Duke of Milan, but as yet all his endeavour hath been of no avail."—*Letter dated* 1514 *in the Cottonian Manuscripts.*

as touching the most serene king of Arragon, since he chooses rather to manage his own concerns of himself, of him neither of us has made any mention. By the said most serene king of the French, the Scots also, among other friends, have been comprised, under certain conditions, by which we think they will by no means abide.

However, the termination of this peace has been fixed in the year after either of us shall have departed this life, according to the articles of the said peace, which are to be approved and ratified by the same king of the French within the next two months, and afterwards to be confirmed, within a year, by the authority of your holiness, (the censures of the church being denounced against the infringer) as your holiness will understand more fully now also from Richard the Lord Bishop of Worcester, our ambassador with your holiness and the Apostolic See.

That, however, this peace may be more firm and lasting, we have promised to the same king of the French in marriage the most illustrious Lady Mary, our sister, who has been by him solicited most earnestly. This lady, when in her ninth year, had been contracted by our father, of most illustrious memory, to the aforesaid Prince of Castile, when she should have attained her thirteenth year; and the time fixed that, when she should have arrived at her fourteenth year, the same most illustrious prince should send hither his ambassadors and proxies, who might complete the solemn espousals in form, in the name of the prince. When this compact had not been noticed by the governors or guardians of the same most

illustrious prince, again, on a late occasion, when we were in the Balearic Isles, we applied ourself to this affair, through our ambassador, on the 15th day of May last past; and this also was disregarded by the guardians of my lord prince, these having been by us often admonished and solicited. Wherefore the said most illustrious lady our sister, having held consultation with discreet persons, solemnly determined, in presence of a public notary and witnesses, to rescind and hold null and void whatever had been transacted by our father, in her name, with the aforesaid guardians of the lord prince:[1] and the match having been thus cancelled and broken off, she hath been betrothed to the said most serene king of the French, and matrimony has just been contracted through the proxies of the same king.

By this band we do not doubt but that there will be a more sincere and lasting peace between him and ourself, whereunto your holiness' frequent and most earnest

[1] The public instrument by which Mary renounced the contract made with Charles of Spain in her nonage will be found in Rymer. On the day after this letter was indited, she was solemnly married to Louis at Greenwich, the Duke of Longueville appearing as his sovereign's proxy, and soon afterwards at Paris, Mary having deputed the Earl of Worcester to appear for her. She was afterwards married to Louis; and the nonchalance with which that sovereign dismissed her English attendants the morning after her marriage is made the subject of doleful remark with the English chroniclers. The queen addressed a letter to Henry VIII. on the subject, which commences as follows:—"My good brother, as heartily as I can I recommend me unto your grace, marvelling much that I never heard from you since our departing, so often as I have sent and written to you. And now am I left post alone, in effect; for on the morn next after our marriage, my chamberlain, with all other menservants, were discharged, and in like wise my mother Guildford, with other my women and maidens."—*MS. Cott. Calig.*, D. vi.

exhortations, and the advantage pointed out to us by you, not only to the Holy See, but also to the whole Christian commonwealth, have mainly allured us, with that hope of course that not only our arms, but those of all Christians which have raged too-too much for mutual slaughter, may at length find rest, or be turned against the enemies of the Christian name, who with joy and laughter look upon us murdering our brethren, and think that the more cruel we are to ourselves, the better do we serve, and the more effectually fight for them. Therefore, again and again we implore your holiness to be most intent and urgent in now settling universal peace, which you have most piously meditated, and happily begun; and in your divine wisdom, and uttermost prayers, deal with other Christian princes as you have done with us, and to exert yourself with all vigour in a work so glorious, so worthy of your holiness, and so salutary to the Christian commonwealth, so that that expedition against the Infidels, desired by the vows of all, and ever by ourself, may be seen in all its glory, from the arms and hearts of all Christians being united. This we hope to see under your holiness, or under no other pontiff.

From our palace at Greenwich, 12th day of August, 1514.[1]

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[1] The articles of peace are contained in the same MS. from which the letter itself is printed.

Henry VIII. to the Marquis of Mantua.[1]

18th August, 1514.

Henry, by the grace of God King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to the most illustrious and most eminent Lord Marquis of Mantua, our very dear friend, greeting: your very noble present, and further, the demonstration of your singular affection towards us, shall never perish from our memory.

That we may testify this by some trifling token, we now send by our intimate friend and knight Griffith, a gentleman, eminently beloved by us, bearer of this letter, some horses, saddled and harnessed in their full trappings, partly for your excellency, partly for your most illustrious consort. And we beg you, as well her, to bear in mind that we design the said horses not to remunerate you for your present and other favours, but by way of return for the good-will of you both towards ourself; be pleased to accept them kindly, and to use us, and all ours, as a friend.

This if (as often as occasion shall happen) you will fearlessly do, you will give us very exceeding pleasure, and you shall find us actuated by the same feeling towards yourselves. And farewell, with prosperity and happiness.

From our palace at Greenwich, the 18th day of August, 1514.

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[1] Harl. MS. 3462, art. 35, translated from the Latin original.

Henry VIII. to the French Minister.[1]

14th January, 1515.

Very dear and good friend,

By the letters which the king, our good brother and cousin, has lately written to us, with sorrow we are advertised of the demise of our good brother, cousin, and compeer, the late king your master, whom God assoil! This has been to us news very unwelcome to hear, on account of the kind love, very cordial affection and endearment that we bore him, and knowing of a certainty that he was of the same kind will and disposition towards ourself.[2] But we have conceived very great joy and pleasure, in that he has left a prince so good, virtuous, and prudent, as his successor, and that he is desirous to live with us in all good and perfect love and endearment; and in that he comforts and consoles our good sister, who is, for the present, very deeply afflicted; likewise, that he is determined to hold and account her as a mother, and to consider her concerns as his own, to whom, for his goodness of heart, we have sent thanks

[1] Cotton. MSS. Galba, B. iii. art. 67. Translated from the French.

[2] Louis died on January 1st, 1515, within three months after his marriage. His "disconsolate widow," in a letter to Wolsey, describes herself as having "no other to put my trust in but the king my brother and you; and as it shall please the king my brother, and his council, I will be ordered; and so I pray you, my lord, to show his grace, seeing that the king my husband is departed to God, of whose soul God pardon." It seems even within a very few days after the death of Louis, Wolsey cautioned the queen to be cautious in promising her hand to another. She expresses, in reply, her hope that neither Wolsey nor the king will "reckon in me such childishness."

by our letters, and we feel ourself greatly obliged to him for it.

And inasmuch as it appears to us necessary and expedient, and also binding on our natural affections, to send certain of our trusty familiars and private servants to her, to console and comfort her on our part on this occasion, and also to say and propound certain matters on our behalf to our good brother and cousin, we have, at this time, despatched our cousin and councillor, the duke of Suffolk, and in his company, Master Nicolas West, Doctor in Laws, and Master Richard Wingfield, our first Gentleman Usher, (who are also our councillors.)

And as your advice and counsel will be necessary to them, to further their suit, we have commanded them to apply themselves to you, as to one whom we have ever found disposed to the maintaining of kind love and amity between the late king your master and ourself, and also between our good brother and cousin, the king, your present master. And, nevertheless, we pray you, very dear and good friend, to be willing to further their suit, and take in hand these matters, for which we now send them to the other side.

And you will do us a very singular and acceptable service, for which we will make you a grateful return in what way you think proper, or we shall be able to do for you, with the help of our Lord, who, my very dear and good friend, have you in his good keeping.

Written at our manor of Eltham, the 14th day of January, 1515.

Henry VIII.—His brief, or letters-patent for a charitable contribution for the relief of Christian Captives in Barbary.[1] *A.D.* 1515.

Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland, to all the archbishops, bishops, dukes, marquises, earls, barons, knights, esquires, and all other our true and loving subjects of this our realm of England, or others resident within the same, good Christian people, these our letters hearing or seeing, greeting.

Whereas our ship lately called "The Christ," being freighted into Levant with wools and other merchandizes by our trusty and well-beloved subjects, John Alleyn, Hugh Clopton, and Richard Fermour, of our city of London, merchants, was, in her sailing beyond the Straits upon the coast of Barbary, encountered and set upon by certain foists[2] and galleys of the Moors and Infidels, enemies to Christ's faith; where, after long conflict between them, and divers slain on both parties, by the great multitude of the same Infidels, all the Christian men being in our said ship, except the number of thirty persons, were slain and murdered; and the same our ship, and Christian men in her, was taken and conveyed to a city called Tunis in Barbary, and there she and all the goods in her confiscate; and the said Christian men put into great

[1] MSS. Additional 4619, art. 93. This is one of the earliest examples extant of a royal circular for charitable purposes.

[2] Small ships so called.

captivity and thraldom, remaining prisoners in irons, and having (as we be credibly informed) for their sustentation but bread and water, and yet scant thereof to sustain their poor living, to the great heaviness and discomfort as well of them and their friends, as all other good, true Christian people. In consideration whereof, and forasmuch as we do verily think it were a thing most meritorious to redeem the said Christian prisoners out of the hands of the said Infidels, we let you wit we have authorized and given license to our trusty and well-beloved servant John Hopton, gentleman-usher of our chamber, that he by himself or his deputy or deputies, having these our letters, or the very copy of them made by a notary under his sign, and subscribed by the said John Hopton, may ask, gather, levy, and receive of all manner persons within this our said realm,—of what degree or condition soever they be or any of them be,—all such sums of money as they of their charities, good dispositions, and free-wills, will give towards the relief and redeeming of the said Christian men out of the thraldom and captivity of the said miscreants and Infidels,—at all times, from the day of making hereof during the space of three years then next and immediately ensuing.

Wherefore, we will and desire you, and nathless command you and every of you, not only to permit and suffer the said John Hopton and his said deputy or deputies to use and enjoy the whole effect of this our authority and license, but also that, in execution of the same, ye be to him and them favouring, aiding, and assisting, and

putting thereunto your good and charitable helping hands; whereby we doubt not you shall not only do a thing much to the pleasure of God, and the increase of your merits, but by the same ye shall minister unto us right, acceptable, and thankful service. In witness whereof, &c.

Given under our great seal at Otford, the 13th day of August.

King Henry the Eighth to Cardinal Wolsey.[1]

My lord cardinal, I recommend unto you as heartily as I can, and I am right glad to hear of your good health, which I pray God may long continue. So it is that I have received your letters, to the which (by cause they ask long writing) I have made answer by my secretary. Two things there be which be so secret that they cause me at this time to write to you myself; the one is that I trust the queen my wife be with child; the other is chief cause why I am sloth to repair to London ward, by cause about this time is partly of her dangerous times, and by cause of that, I would remove her as little as I may now. My lord, I write thus unto you, not as

[1] MS. Cotton Vesp. F. iii. fol. 34, b. This letter is not dated in the original MS., but is stated by Howard to have been written in 1510. On the first day of the following year, Katherine of Arragon gave birth to a prince, named Henry after his royal father. This child, unfortunately for Katherine, expired on February 22d, 1511. This date, however, does not agree with the title given to Wolsey, who was not named Cardinal till September 11th, 1515. The Princess Mary was born on February 18th, 1516.

an ensued thing, but as a thing wherein I have great hope and likelihood, and by cause I do well know that this thing will be comfortable to you to understand; therefore, I do write it unto you at this time. No more to you at this time, *nisi quod Deus velit inceptum opus bene finire*. Written with the hand of your loving prince,

HENRY R.

Henry VIII. to the Bishop of Worcester.[1]

January, 1517.

Right Reverend Father-in-God, we greet you well. And, albeit that we, of special trust and confidence, have deputed you to be resident in that court as our orator not only to solicit and execute all such causes and matters as we have and shall commit unto you from time to time, but also vigilantly to intend and foresee that nothing should be impetrate or obtained there, prejudicial or hurtful to us and this our realm, or derogatory to our dignity royal. Yet, nevertheless, by the inspection of such writings as you shall receive here enclosed, containing the true tenour and effect of a bull, lately passed and spread in that court, at the instance of one Beringe, and pretending himself Bishop of Tournay,

[1] MS. Cotton. Vitell. B. iii. art. 59. The bishop is called in the margin, Thomas Silvius. There is another copy of this letter in MS. Sloane 3839, in which it is stated to have been addressed to the Bishop of Bath. This second copy is imperfect at the end. The court referred to is Rome.

what exorbitant grants have been obtained there by untrue suggestions, contrary to all law and justice, redounding greatly to our dishonour, the defeating and derogation of our right and prerogative royal, within the regality of our city of Tournay, and finally the provocation and raising of seditions, hostility and war betwixt us and other princes our near friends, confederates, and allies. And albeit we cannot a little marvel of the Pope's demeanour in that behalf, to whose office it appertaineth circumspectly and with mature deliberation providently to proceed in similar matters, wherein princes and others have right and interest; so that nothing prejudicial to their said right and interest should be by him granted, unless the circumstance of the matter were first intimate and notified unto them, and that he had heard such declaration as they could make for the conservation of their right. Yet, it is to us more marvel, that the said bull was neither stopped nor letted by you, nor yet any advertisement or certificate given or made unto us from you of the same; which causeth us to think that you regard not our matters so substantially, as to the office of a good orator appertaineth, in suffering semblable bulls and processes to proceed to our dishonour, damage, and prejudice. For, when we, by the advice of our council, ripely ponder and consider the purport and effect of the said bull, replenished with so many rigorous and exorbitant processes, sentences, and censures against such as we authorize to stop and let the said pretended bishop in the attaining the possession of the said bishopric, with the

emoluments and profits of the same, nothing speaking of our title or the interest of any other; it causeth us to think that either the same was obtained by stealth and secret manner, without the notice of the Pope's holiness, or else, if he were privy thereunto, he hath far declined from the right way of good order or indifferent justice.

Truth it is, that we, having the supreme power as lord and king in the regality of Tournay, without recognition of any superior, ought of right to have the homage, fealty, and oath of fidelity as well of the so pretended bishop, by reason of his temporalities which he holdeth of us, as of other within the precincts of the same territory; which to do and make unto us, he hath not only neglected and omitted, but also obstinately refused the same. Considering that he, leaning to the obedience of the French king, contrary to his duty and allegiance, hath traitorously conspired sundry enterprises for the taking and surprising of our said city; and to bring his said purpose the better to pass, he hath obtained a clause to be inserted in the bull of invocation, *brachii secularis*; so that, if he were not admitted to his possession by our captains, soldiers, and subjects within the said city, he might call in the assistance of other princes, and so by might and power attain the same; which was and is a colour and drift subtlely contrived and made, not only to stir and set sedition and discord betwixt the said French king, the king of Castile and us, whose aid and assistance the said bishop must needs call and require in this case, and none other; but also

by that means do as much as in him lies, under the shadow of the Pope's authority, to recover the said city out of our possession and dominion; and how it standeth with justice and the Pope's honour thus to admit this our disobeisant [1] and untrue vassal and subject to the possession of that see, and to command him to remain in the same our city, in contempt of us and the unsurety thereof, we think the Pope of his great wisdom can and will circumspectly consider; for he may well think and constantly believe that, in that case, sounding to our unsurety and tending to the loss of our said city, neither we nor our captains, soldiers, and subjects ought or may in any wise obtemperate [2] or obey to his process or sentence, as things done contrary to justice, in the absence of us or other having interest therein, we never being called nor monished for the justifying of our right and title in that behalf.

Over this it is to be considered that, by these the Pope's processes, censures, and sentences, all and singular the persons spiritual and temporal of our said regality be expressly commanded to suffer the pretended bishop, peaceably and without contradiction, to enter the possession of the said bishopric, under the pain of excommunication, interdiction, privation of office and benefice, with inhabilitation to receive any other promotions hereafter; which implieth as much as to discharge our subjects there from their fidelities and legiance towards us, and not only to aid and favour our disobedient and

[1] Disobedient. [2] To submit to.

traitorous subjects against us, but also to receive him, *cum brachio seculari*, and with as great power as he would bring with him; which things be so exorbitant and contrary to the laws of God and man, justice and reason, that it is the greatest dishonour that ever came to the Pope,—so indiscreetly to pass such things against princes, which were extreme wrong and injury, if they were attempted against the poorest man living.

And, albeit our brother, the king of Castile, would in no wise be more agreeable to give any such aid to the said pretended bishop, though he were required by virtue of the Pope's bull so to do, considering that it should be contrary to the league and amity betwixt us and him, yet the Pope, as much as in him is, hath, by the said clause, licensed and authorized him and other princes to assist the said bishop with their power against us; so that, by means thereof, if our said city were unprovided of defence, [they might] surprise and take the same from our obeisance.

And, in case the Pope will thus reward us for all the benefit we have done to him and the Church of Rome, as well in extincting schism by actual battle, as also by entertaining the crosier to our great cost and charges, taking and concluding of sundry amities with divers princes, more for his surety than for our own; we have good cause to think our benevolence, labour, cost, and charge full ill employed and bestowed in that behalf.

For, first, by the same the Pope hath done as much as in him is to cause our rebel and disobedient subject to be admitted to the bishopric of Tournay, without

making of homage or fealty to us, contrary to justice; by means whereof, if he should be suffered to enter and make his abode within our city, in contempt of us, he might and would not only raise and stir sedition among our subjects, but also procure the perdition thereof, like as the President of Paris's father and he, this last summer, enterprised to do; which thing was detected and openly known for a truth, soon after the impetration of the said bull.

Secondly, our subjects, spiritual and temporal, within our said city, should be bound, by virtue of that bull, under the terrible censure, to aid and favour the said bishop, so by that means they should, in a manner, be discharged of their oath of fidelity to us made, and consequently maintain our rebels against us, to our dishonour and unsurety.

Thirdly, by the clause of invocation, *brachii secularis*, the Pope hath done as much as in him is to raise war and hostility betwixt us and such princes, of whom the said invocation should be demanded; and, under colour thereof, hath authorized them to gather an army to bring in the bishop, to the danger of our said city and our express wrong.

Fourthly, by this strange and inordinate bull, whereof the like was never seen, he attempteth to take from us the superiority, regal pre-eminence, jurisdiction, and authority, that we have in the region and dominion of Tournay, in that he, in our absence and without our knowledge, hath in this great matter, tending to injure our honour, fulminated the censures [of the church], and

called and adjourned us and our subjects out of the regality and territory to places unsure under the obedience of their princes, in derogation of our honour, and contrary to justice; whereas all causes be determinable within the same, and no appeal or resort, either to the Court of Paris or elsewhere, can have place there.

Fifthly, he hath revoked the authority and administration of that see by him granted, at our instance, to the Most Reverend Father in God, the Cardinal Archbishop of York, without our or his knowledge or consent; whereas if any of us both had been called thereunto, we would and might have showed sufficient grounds and causes, according to the premises, why he might not so do; and, for we remember well, that one of the causes principally moving the Pope to grant the authority of administration of the said bishopric to the said cardinal was, forasmuch as the said pretended bishop had neither made his homage nor fidelity for his temporalities, nor yet done his duty or relief for the same; which cause yet remaineth, the said bishop not only neglecting and refusing to do the same, but also conspiring against us as a disobedient and traitorous subject. And if the Pope's said holiness shall, by these sinister ways, more favour such rebels than us, that have done so much for the church, or yet the said cardinal, being an honourable member of the church and congremial of the college;—*tollendo jus quæsitum partibus non vocatis*;[1]

[1] By barring justice, without summoning the parties.

—it would give small courage to the princes, either to obey his processes, or yet to assist him in his necessity.

Sixthly, though the importables grieves, before rehearsed, be so extreme that there was never more injury could be imagined nor done by the Father of the Church against any Christian prince, yet the committing of this cause, whereupon our royalty and interest dependeth to suspect evil, and simple persons of low degree, being subjects to such as would recover our said city by inventions and semblable drifts, and, percase, commanded and assigned by their superiors to execute the said process for making sedition, procuring of discord, and raising of bruits, is the thing that we most ponder and estimate; wherein the Pope hath largely exceeded his ordinate power, not governed by the key of cunning[1] and discretion. And well assured may you be that, if he in his person would thus rigorously, without ground of justice, proceed against us, we would not suffer it; and much more, we disdain such delegates of low degree, suspect, unmeet, and corrupted persons, to be our judges in the sovereignty of our regality; and, if his holiness take regard to his honour and surety, he will not only forthwith revoke the said bull, and extinct the disordered process made by authority thereof; but also be well wary how he grant the semblable bulls against the sovereignty of princes hereafter, remembering the danger that may ensue unto him by the same.

By the premises you may evidently perceive what dis-

[1] Dexterity, skill in judging.

honour, prejudice, danger, damage, and displeasure should and might have ensued unto us by the impetration of this bull, if we had not been sufficiently furnished with power to resist the malicious drifts of our enemies; whereas, by your negligence and inadvertisement, the said bull hath been obtained without any your let or contradiction, contrary to the singular affiance, trust, and confidence that we have always had and put in you.

And, in case you, as our orator, take no better regard to your charge for our honour and surety in so great matters concerning us in that court, we must and will provide such one to furnish that room, as will more assuredly tender the same, and be more vigilant therein. Wherefore, we will and command you that, upon the substantial grounds and causes before specified, you obtain the revocation of the said bull with sufficient clauses to extinct all processes and sentences made and to be made by authority and virtue thereof, against us, the said cardinal, or any of our subjects, with the redintegration and renovelling[1] of the authority and administration of the said bishopric to the cardinal aforesaid, and to send the same to us with all diligence possible, or else we shall be enforced to subrogate some other diligent and able person in your place, that will better regard our honour and surety than you have in this case done. Fail you not to accomplish this our commandment, as you will avoid our displeasure, at your peril; how you shall further order yourself in the disclosing and soliciting of the premises, you shall be

[1] Restoring whole and perfect, and renewing.

advertised by such letters as the said cardinal of York now directeth unto you, the contents whereof we will that you as effectually follow, as though it proceeded of ourself and by our writing.

King Henry VIII. to an Irish Chieftain.[1] 1520.

Trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well, and have now of late received from you, by the hands of our nephew, this bearer, bearing date at Dublin the 8th day of December, wherein ye not only show such effect and consequence as heretofore did ensue of the expeditions done and attempted by the captains and armies, thither sent by our progenitors and ancestors for the reduction of that land to virtuous living, good order, and politic governance; but also in avoiding similar consequences and inconveniences hereafter, ye right circumspectly, as our faithful subject and servant, counsel and advise us royally and effectually to proceed in these enterprises with puissance sufficient, and not to enterprise so great a matter with so small a power; adding, furthermore, that by desisting and forbearing of our said enterprises and purposes, by revoking of our lieutenant, or not furnishing him with power sufficient, those that, according to their fidelity and natural duty of allegiance, do and will be glad to employ their bodies and substance, and

[1] This minute, in the handwriting of Bishop Ruthall, is found in two separate volumes in the British Museum. The first part, containing the recital of the letter answered, is in Titus, B. xii., leaf 385; the rest in Titus, B, xi., leaf 411. It is uncertain to which of the Irish chieftains this letter was addressed.

puissance, for the accomplishment of such laudable and meritorious purposes, may be afterward put in great danger, loss, and damage, like as some of such well-determined persons and faithful subjects were served as heretofore; exhorting us, therefore, not only to send such a sufficient power and puissance thither to our lieutenant, as by the assistance of you, and other our faithful subjects, may be able to bring the intended purpose and enterprise to the desired effect and end, in avoiding the expenses of our goods in vain; but also to advertise our said lieutenant somewhat to order his enterprises after the form and manner of the wars in Ireland; concluding finally, that in case we proceed royally and substantially in this matter, we shall have your service, after the best of your power, promising to be content to take all such lands as ye have, with other parcels, of us, by letters patents, with a creation of a name of dignity to you and your heirs male, bearing unto us, and our heirs, a competent rent; and that ye will cause many of the lords and captains of that land semblably to do, which will be loth to put them in danger, and jeopard themselves, for fear that they should be served as others have been heretofore, in our progenitors' days, unless they may perceive that we will royally and roundly proceed in the same, like as your letters purport more at large.

As unto the premises, we not only give unto you right especial and hearty thanks for this your plain and substantial advertisements, advice, and counsel, proceeding, as we right evidently perceive, of your fidelity,

and fervent zeal and affection, that ye perseverantly bear, to do unto us honour, pleasure, and faithful service, but also to reduce that disordered land to some good, virtuous, and politic governance; whereunto we assure you, none of our progenitors or ancestors were ever so desirous and determinate resolved as we be at this time; and therefore to exclude your mind from all ambiguities, distrust, or diffidence, and to encourage you to persevere and continue in your faithful mind towards us, and the advancement of our enterprises there, for the reduction of that land to good order, we signify unto you, that when we elected and chose our right-beloved cousin and near kinsman, the Earl of Surrey, admiral of England, to be our lieutenant there, whose wisdom, hardiness, fidelity, and activity, is to us by experience evidently known, we minded not to revoke him, or subrogate the Earl of Kildare, or any other in his place, nor yet to see him unfurnished or dispourvayed [1] of such things as should be expedient or necessary for him. Howbeit, and inasmuch as our intent and mind was, and yet is, to cause our said Irish rebels and disobedient subjects, first to recognize their errors, and reconcile themselves by virtuous admonitions, reasonable offers, and charitable exhortations; we therefore have hitherto forborne to send thither any puissant army, trusting that they, following our said charitable offers and monitions, will not fall by contumacy in contempt and incorrigibility, by refusal of the same; which charitable order is not only approved by the Evangelics,[2] and all laws, but

[1] Left unprovided. [2] The Gospels.

also enjoined by precept to all princes, prelates, and governors. Nevertheless, in case they, not regarding our said charitable monitions, shall continue in their disobedient demeanours, and not conform themselves to our exhortations, we then shall have good ground, and can no less do, but, with our main power, put ourself in arreadiness to subdue and exterminate them for ever. Whereunto we be resolutely determined; respiting and deferring the same, only for that we purpose within brief time to call a general council of the lords and estates of this our realm for a perfect and final resolution to be taken therein, so that everything may effectually and substantially proceed by the common concord and consent of our realm: signifying unto you, that inasmuch as we be so far entered in this matter, which, in regard of other our enterprises, both against France and Scotland, is little to be esteemed, we neither purpose to desist from the same, by revoking of our lieutenant, or sending any other in his place, nor yet by any such means to put you, or any other our faithful subjects, in danger, peril, or jeopardy, but rather in our own person, with a sufficient power, both by land and sea, to repair thither, for your conservation, and their subduing and extermination for ever, whereunto you may assuredly trust. And therefore, in the mean time, our mind is, that our lieutenant there shall continue and hold himself in terms and limits of defence, for the quiet preservation and tuition of our English there, and not proceed in any invasion till such time as we, either in our own person, or by our army royal, shall give or send unto him sufficient suc-

cours; which thing we be verily determined to do, if our rebels continue in their perverse purpose. Willing and desiring you, in the mean time, to be aiding, and favouring, and assisting to our said lieutenant, with such other nobles, your friends and adherents, as you have there: like as ye so promise in your letters right thankfully. And whereas ye wrote, that ye be determined to hold your lands of us in chief, by letters patents, with a creation of a dignity to you, and to your heirs males, for a competent rent, we can be right well contented so to accept and take you; signifying unto you, that we have now written to our said lieutenant, not only to treat and commune with you, and such other as ye be minded to induce semblably to do, but also to make relation, as shall be to the weal and advancement of you, and your posterity, for ever. Finally, we have considered your discreet articles, contained in your instructions, which we shall remember accordingly.

King Henry VIII. to the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland.[1] *A.D.* 1520.

Right trusty and right well beloved, most reverend father in God, and trusty and right well beloved, we greet you well, and by such letters and instructions as we have now of late received from you, jointly and severally, we not only understand the time and season when

[1] Thomas Earl of Surrey was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in April, 1520, and landed with his family at Dublin on the 23rd of May.—*State Paper Manuscripts.*

ye, with your retinues, arrived in that our dominion of Ireland, but also in what rebellious state ye found the same at your thither coming; and how, after your power, ye have endeavoured yourself, as well by policy as by exploit of war, to repress the temerity of our Irish rebels there. How be it, for lack of horsemen, victuals, and good assistance of subjects within the English pale, ye cannot so effectually persecute our enemies as ye might and would, if ye had a good number of horsemen. Desiring us, therefore, not only to send unto you the number of eighty horsemen to be taken out of the north parts of this our realm, and of Wales, but also to authorize you to discharge as many footmen of our guard, under your governance, as may pay the wages of the said horsemen. Signifying also unto us that many of our said guard, being householders and wealthy men, would be contented to take twopence or a penny a day, and return to our realm of England; so that, after the wars were done, they might have their groat a day, as they had before. Showing, furthermore, such conspiracy, as by means of the Earl of Kildare[1] and his servants, is daily there made with the Irish rebels against you. Concluding, finally, that without livery ye cannot entertain the horsemen of that country, they being so extreme in demanding so excessive wages, as your said letters purport more at length.

For which your diligent advertisements and substantial acquittals, well approving the benevolent and towardly

[1] Gerald, ninth earl of Kildare, who had been twice Lord Deputy of Ireland, in 1513 and 1515.

minds that ye be of, to do unto us honour, pleasure, and acceptable service, we give unto you, and every of you, our especial and hearty thanks, willing and desiring you, after your accustomable politic, valiant, and circumspect manners, so to persevere and continue hereafter. And albeit ye have found some difficulties at this your beginning and entry, as well for lack of knowledge of the country, and the various conditions of the inhabitants of the same, as also for default of victuals, being geson [1] and scant to be found there; yet, inasmuch as no great enterprise of weighty importance can be well set forth and fruitfully conducted, without difficulties, labours, pains, and diligence, we trust verily that, by your industry and circumspect providences of this your hard and good beginning, shall follow a better middle, and, by the help of God, the best end, in reducing that realm to the knowledge of God, obedience to us, whereof shall ensue peace, wealth, and prosperity to all the inhabitants of the same.

And forasmuch as we perceive right well, by your writings, that the powers of our Irish enemies be assembled in so many sundry places, so far distant the one from the other, in woods and other strong grounds, that it is not possible for footmen [2] to encounter with them for resistance of their invasions, but that of necessity ye must be furnished of more horsemen for that purpose; we, therefore, singularly minding the advancement of your intended enterprises to be done in our service there, have not only granted your request and petition,

[1] An old word for *scarce*. [2] Foot-soldiers.

but also augmented the number of horsemen by you desired; and for that purpose have authorized Sir William Bulmer to prepare one hundred of light horsemen in the north parts of this our realm, to be at Chester, for their transporting, the 10th day of August, under the leading of Sir John Bulmer, his son, who, as we be informed, is to you, our lieutenant, well known, and with whose company we suppose ye will be well contented. We have also written to our trusty and right well beloved Sir Rice ap Thomas to put the number of fifty like horsemen of Wales in arreadiness to be at the seaside, for taking their passage the 10th day of August, to all which horsemen we have not only caused to be advanced money for their coats and conduct to the seaside, but also a month's wages beforehand, after the rate of ninepence by the day; the captain to receive two shillings and sixpence by the day, and the petty captain eighteen pence. For the entertainment of which horses, after their arrival in Ireland, we can be agreeable, and authorize you, by these presents, to discharge as many footmen of the guard there as their wages will amount for the stipend and finding of the said horsemen, after the said rate by the day; assigning to them and every of them so to be discharged, one penny by the day, to be paid, at their return, out of our coffers, in form accustomed, till such time as the wars shall be finished in that land, and then to receive their groat by the day, like as they did before. And forasmuch as ye write that, considering the scarcity and dearth of victuals in those parts, the horsemen cannot conveniently live upon the wages after the said rate;

therefore, we be contented that ye suffer them to take livery, after the ancient accustomable manner there used, till such time as the said land shall be reduced to better obedience, tranquillity, restfulness, and till ye shall have from us contrary commandment.

And as touching the seditious practices, conspiracies, and subtile drifts of the Earl of Kildare, his servants, aiders, and assisters, we have committed the examination and trial of that matter to the most reverend father in God, our right entirely beloved councillor, chancellor, cardinal, and Archbishop of York,[1] who for such weighty business as he had in hand, by reason of the personal interviews betwixt us, the King of Romans, and our brother the French king,[2] could not have convenient leisure hitherto so to do. Nevertheless, the said earl is continually attending upon our said chancellor, who, with his servants named in your instructions, shall not only be examined, but also further tried, as to law and justice shall appertain; and if he be found culpable in the crimes and offences laid to his charge, in digressing from his duty of allegiance, by disturbing of the peace of that our land, and provoking any our subjects to the wars against you, we shall see him in such wise condignly punished, that all other shall take fearful[3] example by him, semblably[4] to offend hereafter.

And with your politic and substantial direction, taken

[1] He here refers to Cardinal Wolsey.

[2] Henry VIII.'s interviews with Charles V. and Francis I. took place the 26th of May and 14th of July, 1520.

[3] Dreaded. [4] In like manner.

by your mutual consents, for the sending of the Archbishop of Dublin,[1] our chancellor there, to Waterford, for the pacifying of such discords, debates, and variances, as betwixt the Earl of Desmond[2] and Sir Piers Butler,[3] we give unto you our special thanks, and right comfortable news it should be unto us, to hear and understand of good concord betwixt them, so that they, being so pacified, might with their puissances join and attend personally with and upon you, our lieutenant, for your better assistance in repressing the temerities of our rebellious Irish enemies; wherein we will and desire you not only to endeavour yourself with all effect, but also to practise with all other captains and heads, as well of the Englishery as Irishery as come in to you, as obedient subjects, and to serve us in our wars for the reduction of that land to civility and due obedience, according to their natural duty of allegiance. And if our writings to them, or any other thing to be by us done, may be available to further and advance those matters, upon knowledge of your minds therein, we shall be glad to speed and do the same with all convenient diligence. For now at the beginning, politic practices may do more good than exploit of war, till such time as the strength of the Irish enemy shall be enfeebled and diminished, as well by getting their captains from them, as by putting division

[1] William Rokeby.

[2] James, eleventh earl of Desmond, who had lately succeeded his father.

[3] Claimant to the earldom of Ormond.

amongst them,[1] so that they join not together; not doubting but ye will foresee and follow all the best ways and means that ye can devise, as well by policy as by feat of war, with provident circumspection, to bring our intended purpose to the desired end. And after ye shall have attained, by such preparatives, any towardly comfort, this year to bring our rebellious subjects there to some obedience, we shall, against the next year, God willing, augment and increase your power there, to annoy the said rebels, accordingly signifying unto you that our brother, the French king, of his mere motion, without any our desire, hath offered unto us to send thither, for your assistance, such number of horsemen or footmen as we shall require of him.

Finally, forasmuch as we know well ye will be glad to hear of our good and honourable news and prosperous successes in all our causes and matters, we therefore signify unto you that, after our dearest brother and nephew, the king of Castile, had personally visited us in our city of Canterbury,[2] and been entertained by us in the ho-

[1] The policy recommended by Henry VIII., and unfolded in this letter, is curious, and worthy of attention. If Sir Robert Peel, in the nineteenth century, confessed that his chief difficulty as Premier was the government of Ireland, the troubles of Henry in restoring that part of his dominions to good order need not be considered a matter for much surprise. The family of Desmond, mentioned by the king, refused to acknowledge any thing more than a nominal dependence on the English crown; and shortly afterwards, we find the Earl of Desmond entering into secret negociations with Francis to join the French arms, as soon as they entered Ireland, on condition of receiving an annual pension.

[2] Charles V. was at Canterbury the 26th of May, 1520.

nourable fashion and pleasant manner, he repaired to his dominions and country; and we transported ourself to our castle of Guynes, for the accomplishment of the meeting and interview promised to be had betwixt us and our brother, the French king.[1]

Henry VIII. to Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, Governor of Ireland.[2]

Right trusty and right well-beloved cousin, we greet you well: and by the contents of such letters, instructions, and reports as we have received and heard as well by and of our well-beloved servant, Sir John Wallop, as by sundry other your letters, some bearing date in August, and some other, the 23, 24, and 25 days of September, we not only understand, to our singular contentation and comfort, your valiant acquittals, provident circumspections, and politic demeanour, with all towardly diligence done and employed in and about the reduction of that our dominion, and the disobeisant subjects of the same, to peaceable governance, due order, subjection, and obedience; but also the great labours, travails, and pains that you daily sustain and take as well in causing the chief captains, by recognition of their natural duties of liegeance, to come in unto you; as also in removing the

[1] The meeting between Henry VIII. and Francis I., at the Champ de Drap d'Or, took place in June of the same year, and the former returned to England in the middle of the following month.

[2] Lambeth Palace MSS., 611, f. 331. Howard succeeded the Earl of Kildare in the government of Ireland, where he proved one of the most popular leaders ever sent over from England into that country.

occasion and causes of division and discord amongst the greatest chieftains, which hath been one of the chief causes of the disorder of that land; reducing them by good mediation to peace, amity, and concord, wherein you have done and daily do unto us right great, honourable, and acceptable service, to your great laud and praise, and to our singular pleasure and contentation, giving unto you our right especial and cordial thanks for the same; assuring you that we shall not put your said laudable acquittals and services in oblivion; but shall in such wise be remembered of the same as a thing done to that prince, which can and will consider and remember good and faithful servants according to their deserts; whereunto you may verily trust, willing and desiring you, therefore, so to persevere and continue accordingly.

And, inasmuch as the charge and enterprise to you committed is thus far forth advanced, that O'Neal and the other Irish captains be not only come in, and, according to their natural duty of liegeance, have recognized us as their sovereign lord, but also have obliged them unto you for their fidelities towards us, we and our council think and verily believe that, in case circumspect and politic ways be used, you shall not only bring them to farther obedience for the observance of our laws, and governing themselves according to the same; but also, following justice, to forbear to detain rebelliously such lands and dominions as to us in right appertaineth; which thing must, as yet, rather be practised by sober ways, politic drifts, and amiable persuasions, founded in law and reason, than by rigorous dealing, comminations,

or any other enforcements by strength or violence. And, to be plain unto you, to spend so much money for the reduction of that land, to bring the Irishery in appearance only of obedience, without that they should observe our laws and resort to our courts for justice, and restore such dominions as they unlawfully detain from us, it were a thing of little policy, less advantage, and least effect.

Wherefore, we think right expedient that at such assemblies and common councils, when you shall call the chieftains and other captains of that our land before you, (as of good congruence you must needs so do) you, after and among other overtures by your wisdoms then to be made, should declare unto them the great decay, ruin, and desolation of that commodious and fertile land, for lack of politic governance and good justice; which can never be brought in good order, unless the unbridled sensualities of insolent folks be brought under the rules of the laws; for realms without justice be but tyrannies and robberies, more consonant to beastly appetites than to the laudable life of reasonable creatures. And, whereas wilfulness doth reign by strength, without law or justice, there is no distinction of property in common, nor yet may any man say, "This is mine;" but by strength the weaker is subdued and oppressed, which is contrary to all laws both of God and man. And it may be said unto them in good manner that, like as we, being their sovereign lord and prince, though, of our absolute power, we be above the laws, yet we will in no wise take anything from them that righteously appertaineth to them: so, of good congruence, they be bound both by law,

fidelity, and liegeance, to restore unto us our own. For it soundeth to our honour to conserve our rightful inheritance, that we neither may nor will suffer any prince, of whatsoever pre-eminence he be, to usurp or detain any part thereof, but by our puissance to repress such usurpation and detention accordingly. And much more it soundeth to our dishonour to permit and suffer our own subjects to detain violently any part of lands to us righteously appertaining.

Endeavouring yourself, by these and other persuasions, as you shall think fit, to cause them to know the ways of justice; whereby they shall be the rather moved not only to incline thereunto, but also to leave such unlawful and sensual demeanours as they have hitherto used. Howbeit, our mind is not that you shall impress in them any opinion, by fearful words, that we intend to expel them from their lands and dominions lawfully possessed, but to conserve them in their own, and to use their advice, aid, and assistance, as of faithful subjects, to recover our rightful inheritance, nor yet, that we be minded to constrain them precisely to observe our laws ministered by our justices there; but, under good manner, to show unto them that of necessity it is requisite that every reasonable creature be governed by a law. And, therefore, if they shall allege that our laws there used be too extreme and rigorous, and that it should be very hard for them to observe the same, then you may further ensearch of them under what manner and by what laws they would be ordered and governed, to the intent that, if their laws be good and reasonable, they

may be approved, and the vigour of our laws, if they shall think them too hard, to be mitigated and brought to such moderation, as they may conveniently live under the same. By which means, you shall finally induce them, of necessity, to conform their order in living, to the observation of some reasonable law, and not to live at will, as they have used heretofore.

And, if by these and semblable drifts an entry might be made, that part of our land detained by usurpation might be reduced to our possession, either of the earldom of Ulster, whereunto (as you write) O'Neal hath promised his assistance, or of any other, which notoriously appertaineth unto us: it mought be the mean, that successively, and from time to time, not only the residue to us belonging should be recovered, but also such lands, as by force be detained from all other lords, may be brought to their pristinate state; which is the best and most speedy way to bring that land in good order and obeisance, and to cause the same to be inhabited and manured:[1] considering that every lord, having his own, should not only be able to live there honourably and to subdue tyranny, but also would see their lands inhabited, tilled, laboured for their most advantage and gain. Howbeit, this matter must be politicly, patiently, and secretly handled; and so to proceed therein, that the Irish lords conceive no jealousy or suspicion that they shall be constrained precisely to live under our laws, or be put from all the lands by them now detained; remitting, therefore, the politic ordering of those matters to

[1] Cultivated.

your wisdom, to whom the experience and drifts of that land be better known than to us.

Over this—Whereas we advanced to you and our treasurer, Sir John Stile, for the entertainment of you and your retinue there, the sum of £3,480 15s. 11d., for the first half year, trusting that the wages for the other half year, or a good part thereof, should have been paid of the revenues, and other casualties of that land, we now understand by your writing that inasmuch as our rent there due at the Annunciation of our lady last past, was received by the Earl of Kildare, and that the revenues due at Michaelmas cannot be levied till near Christmas; therefore we have, at this time, sent unto you, by our trusty and well-beloved servant, Sir John Wallop, knight, the sum of £4,000, and have allowed unto him £20 for his costs, to be sustained as well for the carriage and passage over of the same, as of other divers things, &c., which hath been, and is unto us, for so short time, a right great charge.

Wherefore we will and desire you so substantially to look to the speedy recovery of our revenues and other duties there, wholly and entirely, that our charges, or the most part of them, may be borne upon the same, signifying unto you our mind and pleasure is, that of our said revenues there, the entertainment of you and your retinue under you shall be levied and paid; and that we purpose not to advance out of our coffers hereafter any manner sums of money, but only such as shall be in surplusage over and above our said revenues: trusting that, as well for the relieving our charges as for the

more assured payment of yourself, you will substantially look to the improvement and speedy recovery of the same revenues from time to time, in as effectual manner as you would husband your own profits in case semblable.

And whereas you further write that, at the arrival of Sir John Bulmer with one hundred horsemen into that land, you discharged the number of 122 of our guard, with the assignment unto them of one penny by the day, to be paid out of our coffers, till the wars of Ireland were finished, to the intent the wage of them, and of the other seventeen there deceased, should furnish the number of horsemen thither brought by the said Sir John Bulmer; we understand by the said writing, that the said horsemen, neither for their personages, horses, nor other furnishment, be so apt and able for the wars as you looked for, and for that cause you and our council there be desirous to be authorized by us, to take into wages, and to discharge out of wages, such and as many as you shall think good, trusting to furnish us with the wages that they now receive, with far better personages than the most part of them be. As unto that matter, we supposed verily that the Northernmen by you desired should have been more acceptable unto you, under the leading of Sir John Bulmer, whom you heretofore have much praised than of any other. Howbeit, if you had not discharged the Welshmen, we think you should have been better purveyed of spears. Nevertheless, in consideration that captains, perchance, will be better pleased with men of war after their appetites and

choosing than of any other, we be contented to give unto you, our lieutenant, full authority by the advice of our council there, to discharge as many of the Northern-men under the retinue of Sir John Bulmer as you shall think unmeet to be entertained, and to substitute in their places, at like wage and such number, such apt horsemen as may be agreeable to your appetite, so that our charge be not increased, foreseeing always that you put not your full trust in Irish horsemen, which being more in number and strength than you, with your English horsemen, be, may perchance put both you and them in danger ere you beware; whereunto we doubt not, both for our honour and your surety, you will take special regard as it appertaineth. And thus, if you choose able men, the ill bruit there, touching the discharging of tall personages, shall soon cease.

And whereas you write, it hath been accustomed heretofore, that our lieutenants-general of that land have not only had full and ample commission to proceed and execute our authority royal against criminous persons, but also to give the Order of Knighthood to such noblemen, from time to time, as should deserve the same, you make instance to have such commission and authority of us; we, in consideration of your laudable and right agreeable service, and having full trust and confidence in your wisdom, soberness, and circumspection, and that you will not proceed to the condemnation and executing of any noble person of name, till you be advertised of our pleasure, and not to advance any manner of personage to the order of knighthood, but such as shall merit the same.

We, according to your desire, send unto you our ample commission and authority for that purpose accordingly, and can be agreeable that you not only make O'Neal, and such other lords of the Irishery as you shall think good knights; but also to give unto the said O'Neal a collar of gold of our livery, which we also send unto you at this time by our said servant, Sir John Wallop. Howbeit, if you mought by policy induce the said O'Neal,[1] with other of the greatest personages, to repair to our presence, we trust so to entreat and entertain them, that they shall not only the better love and obey us hereafter, but also change their old Irish manners, and fall to more curial,[2] discreet, and cleanly order than ever they used before; which thing we remit to your wisdom.

We perceive over this, by your said letters, that, albeit you can in no wise get other sufficient proofs against the Earl of Kildare and his servants, of and upon such detections as were laid to his charge, than you had before, by any inquisition or examination that you have taken there; yet you have put de Lahyde[3] and the other servants of the said earl under sureties, wherein you have done right discreetly. And inasmuch as you write that both O'Neal, and such other as you have examined, do declare the said earl in such crimes as were objected against him, remembering also that we have none evident testimonies to convince him upon the same, but only presumptuous and uncertain conjectures; therefore we think right agreeable to justice to release him out of ward, and

[1] Shane O'Neal, Lord of Ulster.

[2] Courteous—Curialité, i. e. courtesy.

[3] This perhaps is a misnomer, but so in the MS.

put him under surety not to depart this our realm without our especial license. And well assured may you be, we shall so order the said earl, that he shall not repair to that land for many considerations. Wherefore both you and all our subjects there may settle your minds in quietness for any distrust or hope of his return; and for that consideration, we will and desire you, our lieutenant, clearly to determine yourself there to remain, and to make your abode, and to order your provisions and affairs accordingly. For our resolute mind and pleasure is, that you shall so do till such time that land be brought to better obeisance and order than it is yet, not doubting you will be right well contented so to do accordingly.

We also, according to your desire, shall take such an order with outward princes, our confederates and allies, that all manner ships repairing from outward parts to that land shall arrive in the havens under our obeisance, specified in a bill delivered unto us by the said Sir John Wallop.

And, whereas, you further write that you be determined to establish good peace, amity, and concord, betwixt the Earls of Desmond and Ormond, we can[1] you right good thanks for your laudable intent in that behalf; for they, being well agreed and faithfully determined to do unto us true service, you shall be the more able to reduce that land to good order and obeisance within brief time. And, like as you desire us to endeavour ourself that a marriage may be had and made betwixt the Earl of Ormond's son and the daughter

[1] Or con, i.e., give.

of Sir Thomas Bulain,[1] knight, comptroller of our household; so, we will you be a mean to the said earl for his agreeable consent and mind thereunto, and to advertise us by our next letters of what towardness you shall find the said earl in that behalf, signifying unto you that, in the mean time, we shall advance the said matter with our comptroller, and certify you how we shall find him inclined thereunto.

Henry VIII. to Sir A. Fortescue.[2] 1520.

Henry,

Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas, this year last passed, after conclusion taken betwixt us and our right dear brother, cousin, confederate, and ally, the French king, as well for firm peace, love, and amity, as of alliance by way of marriage (God willing) to be had and made betwixt our dearest daughter the Princess and the Dolphin of France, a personal meeting and interview[3] was also then concluded to be had betwixt us and the said French king; which, upon urgent considerations and great

[1] So spelt in the original manuscript.

[2] Cottonian MSS. Caligula, D. vii., Art. 118.

[3] The celebrated interview between Henry and Francis took place in June, 1520. Both monarchs had sworn, as proofs of their sincerity, that they would not cut their beards till they had seen each other. Francis kept his promise, but Henry was obliged to excuse his breach of sworn faith by alleging that his queen could not endure a large beard! An original picture, representing the interview of the two sovereigns, painted by command of Henry, is still preserved in the meeting-room of the Society of Antiquaries.

respects, was by mutual consent for that year put over and deferred; so it is now, that the said French king, being much desirous to see and personally to speak with us, hath, sundry times by his ambassadors and writings, instantly desired us to condescend[1] to the said interview, offering to meet with us within our dominion, pale, and marches of Calais; whereas, heretofore, semblable[2] honour of pre-eminence hath not been given by any of the French kings to our progenitors or antecessors;[3] we therefore, remembering the manifold good effects that be, in appearance,[4] to ensue of this personal meeting, as well for corroboration and assured establishment of the peace and alliance concluded betwixt us, as for the universal weal, tranquillity, and restfulness of all Christendom; taking also consideration to our former conventions, and the great honour offered unto us by the French king for the said meeting within our dominion, have condescended thereunto accordingly; the same to be, God willing, in the month of May next ensuing.

And, inasmuch as to our honour and dignity royal it appertaineth to be furnished with honourable personages, as well spiritual as temporal, to give their attendance upon us at so solemn an act as this shall be, for the honour of us and this our realm, we therefore have appointed you, amongst others, to attend upon our dearest wife the queen in this voyage, willing therefore and desiring you not only to put yourself in arreadiness,[5] with the number of ten tall personages well and conveniently

[1] Agree. [2] Similar. [3] Ancestors. [4] Probability.
[5] Readiness; preparation.

apparelled for this purpose, to pass with you over the sea, but also in such wise to appoint yourself in apparel, as to your degree, the honour of us and this our realm, appertaineth. So that you, repairing unto our said dearest wife, the queen, by the first day of May next ensuing, may then give your attendance in her transporting over the sea accordingly; ascertaining you that, albeit you be appointed to the number of ten servants to pass with you (as is above said), yet, nevertheless, inasmuch as at your arrival at Calais you shall have no great journey requisite to occupy[1] many horses, you shall therefore convey with you over the sea for your own riding, and otherwise, not above the number of three horses. Howbeit, our mind is not to restrain you to the said precise number of servants and horses for your own journeying unto our said wife and accompanying her to the sea-side, which thing we leave to your arbitrement;[2] but only ascertain you of that number of servants and horses.[3]

Henry VIII. to the Estates of Scotland.[4]

Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France, Lord of Ireland, to our well-beloved, all and every, the lords spiritual and temporal, likewise the commons and three estates of the kingdom of Scotland,

[1] Use; employ. [2] Judgment.

[3] The two or three last lines of this MS. are burnt off. It is endorsed—"To our trusty and well-beloved servant, Sir Adryan Fortesque, knight."

[4] MSS. Harl. 1224. Art. 25. Translated from the French.

to whom the knowledge of these presents shall come, health and greeting in God everlasting.

Inasmuch as we, drawn by natural affection and love, as well on account of proximity of blood which is between us and our very dear brother and nephew, the young king of your kingdom, your sovereign lord, as of his minority and nonage, have heretofore been very content to live in repose, tranquillity, and peace with the said kingdom, the nobles and subjects thereof; making to that end, from time to time, many treaties of truce and abstinence from war, under conditions which, before this, have not been observed; and, inasmuch as, by many irruptions, robberies, murders, burnings, and other outrages, we have been provoked and inclined to the contrary, being determined to continue in like mind during the minority of our said nephew: nevertheless, having just heard, to our great regret and displeasure, that the Duke of Albany,[1] pretending himself heir-apparent and next successor to the crown of Scotland, is not only arrived there, usurping as governor, with money, ordinance, artillery, and other preparations of war, for the

[1] The following is taken from Lord Dacre's "instructions to be exhibited to the Queen's grace," in Cotton MSS. Calig. B. vi.—"Ye shall show unto her Grace that it is thought marvellous that she should bear so great favour unto the Duke of Albany, seeing her Grace his request made unto the king, my sovereign lord, and labour made to my Lord Cardinal's grace to move his highness that the said Duke should not come into Scotland, as well for the surety of the king her son as of herself; seeing the sudden departure of the prince her son, and that incontinently after the said Duke proclaimed himself Prince of Scotland; and that also the said Duke's father took upon him and usurped to be king against his eldest brother being king, and in the time of his usurping made diverse knights."

purpose of hostility; but also, taking into his hands the custody of the said young king our nephew (as we are informed by those who are worthy of credit) has committed the custody and governance of him to a foreigner of low reputation; contriving and damnably purposing the divorce of the queen our sister from her spouse and lawful husband, and proposing to contract marriage with her; whereby not only the person of the said king our nephew is, in appearance, in great danger of being destroyed, but also our sister on the eve of ruin, to our great dishonour and displeasure.

We therefore, providing against, wishing and purposing to remove, take away, and cut off the said dangers and inconveniences, have long since made instant and earnest request to our brother and cousin the French king, to detain and keep the said duke in France, and not to suffer him, in any wise, to return or resort to Scotland; the which thing the French king, like a virtuous prince, at our instance has expressly promised and granted by letters signed with his own hand, and confirmed by oath made upon the Holy Evangelists. Wherefore, we are induced to think and really to presume that the said duke, in order to accomplish his damnable purposes in covert manner, has come out of France without the cognizance, assurance, or even the knowledge of the said French king, taking it for granted that, noble prince as he is, with whom we must have so good and perfect intelligence, he would not violate his oath by permitting the said duke with his knowledge to return into Scotland.

And, inasmuch as the said duke has, but a little while

ago, importuned us by his secretary for a longer protraction of the truce between us and the kingdom of Scotland; nevertheless, we, considering and manifestly perceiving the imminent dangers, which, by the establishing of the said duke in repose and tranquillity, would indubitably ensue to the said kingdom and the said king our nephew, he by virtue thereof designing to abuse the nobles and aspire to the crown of Scotland, have expressly refused to condescend to any peace or abstinence from war at his request or instance, so long as he shall remain there; whereas we might have been hereunto very agreeable from the entire affection which we bear to our said nephew, if the said duke, being dismissed out of Scotland, the thing had been demanded by you and the three estates of the realm.

Wherefore, and inasmuch as by the sojourn and residence of the said duke in the country, the dangers and inconveniences above specified, to all appearance, will arrive and ensue; and as the king of France has affirmed to our ambassador resident at his court that his coming from thence is wholly against his will and intention, (seeing that it is contrary to his oath and promise) and likewise, as thereby the peace and tranquillity of your kingdom will be troubled, we earnestly require, desire, and pray you to look so substantially as well to the safety of your natural king and prince as of your honours, property, and repose, that you neither aid, favour, nor assist the said duke in his evil purposes and damnable enterprises, nor even suffer him to tarry in that your country; assuring you that, by so doing, we will not

only live with you in amity, tranquillity, and repose, but also assist and aid you with our person, power, and substance against him, his adherents, and those who shall be willing to side with him, and all others who shall undertake any mischief against our said nephew and his kingdom. And, in letting him abide in your country, you will peril your prince, and dishonour your queen our sister, and provoke us with all our confederates and allies to do you all the harm and damage that we can, (for which we should be sorry) if by your countenance of the said duke you should force us thereto.

Given under our privy seal at our abode of Greenwich, the 14th day of January, the year of our Lord, 1521, and of our reign the thirteenth.

Signed as underneath.

HENRY.[1]

Henry VIII. to the Duke of Albany.[2] *A.D.* 1522.

We have received your letters by your secretary, containing credence not only touching your arrival in

[1] The following note, in Latin, is appended to this letter.—"This is a true copy of the original letter of the aforesaid most excellent Prince Henry King of England, and subscribed by the hand and affirmed by the private seal of the same; it was translated from the English into the French tongue, in all respects according with the original, being faithfully collated by me, Alexander Scott, notary-public and scribe of the council; so testified under my seal and subscription manual." The original letter in English does not appear to be extant; but if the chances of antiquarian research should bring it to light, the reader can then compare it with a modern English version of a French translation made three centuries ago.

[2] Cotton MSS. Calig. B. vi. Art. 152.

that realm, as also the mind that you be of, as well to do service to the king our nephew there, as to the continuance of peace betwixt both realms; desiring the further prorogation of the truce which shall expire at Candlemas next ensuing; to the intent ambassadors may be sent to us for treating and concluding of and upon a small peace betwixt us and our entirely beloved brother and nephew the king of Scots.

And, first, as touching your coming into Scotland, considering that the same is contrary to the persuasions, oath, and promises of our right dear brother, confederate, and ally, the French king, who hath expressly declared to our ambassador resident in his court, that you be thither come without his knowledge, consent, or good will; remembering also the manifold dangers that may ensue to the person of our said brother and nephew, the pretending to be next in succession to the crown there, having also the custody of his person (at your deputation and governance of his whole realm) with the dishonourable and damnable abusing of our sister, inciting her and stirring her to be divorced from her lawful husband (for what corrupt intent God knoweth); we cannot be contented with your said arrival, nor take your being there in good part, but will and shall, by all the ways and means that we can devise or imagine, with the help, aid, and assistance of our confederates, do all that we can for your removing thence.

And surely, if you regarded and tendered your own honour, and the evil bruits [1] that be divulged and spread,

[1] Reports.

by your thither coming, through all Christian regions, you would avoid all occasions, whereby any suspicion might arise to the peril of the said king our nephew, by your being in that realm: which cannot be purged by any colour during your abode there. Wherefore we, for the security of our said nephew, and considerations before specified, mind not to take any peace or abstinence of war at your hand, as long as you continue there, like as this bearer, Claranceux, officer at arms, shall more at length declare unto you and other the nobles and states of Scotland.[1]

Henry VIII. to the Mayor of Carlisle.[2]

15th February, 1523.

Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland; to the Mayor and his brethren of our city of Carlisle that now be and hereafter for the time shall be, greeting. Insomuch as ye know well that the same our city is one of the chief keys and fortresses to the defence of this our realm, and that the loss thereof by any sudden enterprise of the Scots should be not only your utter destruction, but also a great and a universal hurt to all our said realm, which God defend;

[1] This letter apparently ends imperfectly. The Duke of Albany had returned to Scotland, and assumed the reins of government at the invitation of Queen Margaret, who is stated to have quarrelled with her husband on account of his gallantries, and with her brother for his penuriousness.

[2] Carlisle in Cumberland. The present letter is still preserved in the audit book belonging to the corporation of that town.

we therefore will and charge you in our straitest wise not to suffer any man or person or persons dwelling within our said city to be from henceforth retained with any man, be he spiritual or temporal lord or other, by livery, badging, clothing, cognizance, or in any otherwise, nor to ride or pass out of the same our city in harness to any fields, skirmishings, affrays, or riots with any gentlemen or other, whatsoever estate or degree he be of, but to be abiding and attending at all seasons, both of war and of peace, in the same our city for the defence and surety thereof against the Scots, if they would make any sudden attempt thereunto, by siege or otherwise. And to the intent that ye of the same our city may be of good surety and truths amongst yourselves, we have commanded the Right Reverend Father in God, our right trusty counsellor the Bishop of Carlisle, to take your oaths of fidelity unto us, willing you therefore to be attendant unto him in that behalf, and also to conform you to the due observing of the premises as ye tender your own sureties and the weal of this our realm: and be it so that any man disobey and be retained contrary to this our ordinance, we then charge you straightly to certify us forthwith of his name by your writing, and we shall so provide for his sharp punition, according to our laws and statutes, as other shall thereat take fear semblably to offend for time coming.

Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the 15th day of February, the fourteenth year of our reign.

Henry VIII. to Queen Margaret.[1]

Right excellent and noble princess, our dearest sister, we commend us unto you in our most hearty and affectionate manner; advertising you, that we have as well received your letters credential addressed unto us by Sir John Campbell, knight, as your other letters lately sent unto us from Edinburgh, by our servant Barwick; and have at good length heard the credence, which you referred to the declaration of our right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin and counsellor the Duke of Norfolk. For answer whereunto, dearest sister, you shall understand, that like as we would be right sorry to see, that our good brother and nephew, your son, should not use you in all things as beseemeth a natural and kind son to use his mother; so you may certainly persuade yourself that, in case we should certainly perceive the contrary, whereby it should appear you should be treated otherwise than your honour and the treaty of your marriage doth require, there shall, on our behalf, want no loving and kind office, which we shall think may tend to your relief, comfort, and satisfaction. But, dearest sister, because by the report and credence of the said Sir John Campbell, whom you recommended unto us as your special friend, it appeared to us, that you be there very well handled, and be grown to much wealth, quiet, and riches; and, on the other side, by the credence committed to our said servant Barwick, it appeareth otherwise: having the same declared unto us the mere

[1] MSS. in the State Paper Office.

contrary, we perceive their tales be so contrary and repugnant, one to another, that we may well remain doubtful which of them we may believe. And perceiving also, by sundry other advertisements heretofore received from you, concerning your trouble and evil handling there, both by our nephew, your son, and by the Lord Muffyn, that either your state often varyeth, or else things have not been well understood and declared; for that we have after found them variable, and you of other disposition than hath been of your behalf pretended unto us: having occasion at this time to send this bearer into those parts for other our affairs and business, we thought meet, by these our letters, to desire and pray you, not only to signify unto us more plainly the points wherein you note yourself evil handled, but also whether you desire that we should directly and particularly entreat such your griefs with our good brother and nephew your son, as you will specially signify unto us, or else generally recommend your state, condition, and good entertainment unto him. For, as we would be very loth, either to propose such matter unto him for you, as yourself should not after justify, or otherwise to entreat it, than might most redound to your repose, commodity, and quiet; so, knowing certainly your mind herein, with the particularities of griefs, such as you will avow and justify, we shall not fail to devise in such wise for the redress of the same, as both your honour and ours shall appertain; likewise, this bearer can further declare unto you, to whom we require you, dearest sister, to give credence.

Henry VIII. to the Earl of Surrey.[1]

October 5th, 1523.

Right trusty, &c.

Giving unto knowledge that we have this day received and read as well your letters directed to ourself, dated at our town of Berwick, the twenty-seventh day of September last past, as also your letters directed unto the most reverend father, &c., my lord legate; by the continue[2] whereof we perceive as well the goodly valiant exploit of our army under your wise and politic conduct accomplished at Jedburgh,[3] with the arracing[4] and destruction of the same, and also the winning of the Castle of Ferneherst, the devastating and wasting of the country abouts;[5] which your honourable service done unto us in your so highly well achieved enterprise, greatly redounding to the loss, confusion, rebuke, and shame of our enemies, with the profit, surety, honour,

[1] MS. Cotton. Calig. B. vi. art. 152.

[2] Contents.

[3] Gedworth in the MS.

[4] Erasing.

[5] A contemporary letter gives a striking account of the havoc made by the Earl of Surrey;—"The Earl of Surrey hath so devastated and destroyed all Tweedale and March, that there is left neither house, fortress, village, tree, cattle, corn, or other succour for man: insomuch that some of the people that fled from the same, afterwards returning and finding no sustenance, were compelled to come into England begging bread, which oftentimes, when they do eat, they die incontinently for the hunger passed; and with no imprisonment, cutting off their ears, burning them in their faces, or otherwise, can be kept away." The burning of Jedburgh was entrusted by Surrey to Sir William Bulmer and Thomas Tempest. Jedburgh is thus mentioned by Surrey in a letter to Wolsey dated 27 Sept. preserved in Cotton. MSS.—"The

and good renome[1] of us and our realm—is to us especial pleasure and contentation. For which we give unto you and all other our lords, gentlemen, and good subjects there, for their labour, pain, travel, and faithful devoir under you, our right hearty thanks, and very joyous be we of your and their safe and prosperous return.

And as for the loss [and] misfortunes among my Lord Dacre's horses; albeit, that for the tender favour we bear him, we be right sorry that any harm should in any wise come to him, yet considering that the same grew but by mere chance, whereof our enemies can claim none honour, we reckon your commendable exploit nothing blemished thereby: which chance also might well have happened, though they had been in the camp, not without greater commotion and more sudden affray.

And since all the adventures of the war seldom pass without some mishap, we be well content and right glad, that it is rather fallen upon the horses than upon the men, of whose return so whole, with so few of our well-beloved subjects loss, we right heartily thank God[2], your and their valiant acquittal with your good and prudent conduct. And we desire you to give on our behalf our

town was much better than I thought it had been, for there was two times more houses therein than in Berwick, and well builded with many honest and fair houses therein, sufficient to have lodged a thousand horsemen and garrison, and six good towers therein; which town and towers be clearly destroyed, burnt, and thrown down. Undoubtedly there was no journey made into Scotland in no man's day, leaving with so few a number, that is recounted to be so high an enterprise as this, both with these countrymen and Scotsmen, nor of truth so much hurt done."

[1] Renown. [2] There appears some defect in the MS. in this place.

right especial thanks to the Lord Dacre for his valiant, faithful, diligent, and painful service at Jedburgh as at Ferneherst.

Furthermore, we very well allow and specially thank you for your wise and prudent diligence, used as well in Norham as in Work, being by your politic oversight set in so good a train, as in your foresaid letters mentioned. But, as touching Berwick, surely we cannot but marvel that it should now be of so little strength, considering that it hath ere this holden against great puissance,[1] long before much cost done thereon; which our dearest father and ourself have mis-spent thereon, if it be not now able to withstand as great force as it hath done before we spent so much upon it. Whereof we marvel yet the more, by so much that we have not of the feebleness thereof been by you, my Lord, advertised before this in such convenient time, as we might, ere this, have provided for the more sufficient fortification thereof. Howbeit, we doubt it not your wisdom will see to the safeguard thereof by the politic way that may be devised: which done, we trust that, God willing, it shall be right well able to resist the malice of our enemies.

Whereas we desire to be sent unto you with all celerity a hundred gunners, we have communed with our well-beloved servant, William Jonson being here present with us, at the receipt of your letters; by whose communication we very certainly perceive that, considering the number of gunners which we must needs occupy for

[1] Power.

our ships as well for guarding of the seas as of the fishing, with convenient store reserved for our town of Portsmouth, we can in no wise take thence above the number of forty, and scantly[1] well so many; and from other places we be not as yet sure to take up any.

Wherefore, we must pray you with these, if more cannot be gotten, to make the best shift you may; which shall as we trust meetly well furnish you, for so much as they be not of a mean sort, but men of that great experience—by whose good help and counsel, by your policy distributed and divided, we suppose that many of your soldiers shall be found able to stand instead of gunners meetly well for a shift. Howbeit, we have unto our well-beloved servant John Weston, who shall of those forty coming from Portsmouth have the conveyance unto you, given power and authority to take more in London, on his way; so that we trust you shall have with him fourscore, wherewith we think you shall be furnished well and sufficiently. Moreover, [whereas] it is your conjecture and opinion, that the Duke will suddenly gather up thirty thousand men of the countries next adjoining to our Borders, and with them so raised and with the Frenchmen make an invasion into our land for two or three days, and thereupon suddenly depart, and that he were likely thus to do before the Saturday next after the said date of your letters; albeit this thing was by you right wisely doubted and forecast, yet we verily think that you have by this time found it

[1] Scarcely.

otherwise; for we can not suppose either that he can well come with his company (so beaten) from Dumbarton, so far off, so soon, nor with so great celerity raise so much people and march on so fast. We will ourself come in person to that invasion that should hold so few days; but for the doubt of all sudden invasions, whereof is not unlikely diverse at sundry times to be made, our advice and counsel is, that our subjects the Borderers, as much as they conveniently can, should convey further up from the Borders all such things as by sudden incursion might be bereft them or destroyed. And, if you shall perceive great gathering toward [the Borders,] and assembling of much people and mighty puissance, we wot it well we shall not need to admonish you to strength yourself with substantial number according out of the shires within your commission. And else, we doubt it not we shall need as little to put you in remembrance to spare our charges, to the good husbanding whereof you have and have had in all your doings a right vigilant judgment.

Finally, my lord, as touching your request of returning to our presence at All-Hallow-Tide, and that either my Lord Percy might then enter into the office of warden, or my Lord Dacre as his deputy for the while to occupy the room; surely, my lord, we have not as yet determined our pleasure upon any that should occupy that office. And, if we had been ere this inclined toward any, peradventure, at such time as it was thought the Duke should come; yet, since he is now arrived, and as yet it is unknown what shall succeed and ensue there-

upon, we cannot conveniently resolve ourself in this point as yet, considering that for your wisdom, prowess, and experience, no man is more meet to match him. Requiring you therefore to take patience in our service there, till we shall have seen and proved somewhat farther, and, as soon as we conveniently may, we shall give you further knowledge of our pleasure; wherein we shall, as far forth as shall stand with the good state of our affairs, have as tender respect unto your ease and comfort as we know well that you will againward[1] have high regard to our service and profit.

Given under our signet, at our manor of Woodstock, the fifth day of October, 1523.[2]

King Henry to the Earl of Surrey.[3]

12th of November, 1523.

Right trusty and right well-beloved cousin, we greet you well: and have received your letters bearing date the third and fourth days of this instant month, the first mentioning the siege laid by the Duke of Albany unto the castle of Wark, with the assault given unto the same, and the valiant defence thereof by Sir William Lisle,[4]

[1] On the other hand.

[2] This document is endorsed,—"A copy of the king's letter directed to my Lord of Surrey. Also—Jedworth and Farneherst captured, razed, and spoiled. Disaster among the Lord Dacre's horses."

[3] MS. Cotton. Calig. B. i. fol. 307.

[4] The letter of the Earl of Surrey here referred to is still preserved in the same MS. from which the present document is taken:—"And the said Monday, at three o'clock at afternoon, the water of Tweed being so high that it could not be ridden, the duke sent over two thousand French-

captain of that place; and how, upon knowledge given to the said duke that ye with our whole army was coming to the rescue, he shamefully and cowardly removed his siege and fled, but to what place ye then knew not. By the second letter appeareth upon the report of the prioress of Calstieme how that on Tuesday at night last past about midnight, the said duke being then at Eccles, informed that our army passed the river after him, removed from thence, took his ordnance away, and cleanly [1] departed; the truth whereof ye doubted not to be advertised from divers ways the next day, at which upon the more knowledge had, ye would assemble all the noblemen to devise and determine what ye and they should further do; desiring that after the Duke's army scaled, we, in consideration of your disease and sickness, would discharge you, giving you license to return. And thinking the Lord Dacres as well for his strength as experience in those parts most meet to take the charge of office of warden till such time as that we shall appoint some other thereunto, and finally requiring that both money and our letters of thanks may be sent as in the said letters is contained more at large. As hereunto we signify unto you, like as thanked be Almighty God, this news be right

men in boats to give assault to the place, who with force entered the lower court, and by Sir William Lisle, captain of the castle, with a hundred with him, were right manfully defended by the space of one hour and a half, without suffering them to enter the inner ward; but finally the said Frenchmen entered the inner ward, which perceived by the said Sir William and his company freely set upon them, and not only drove them out of the inner ward, but also out of the outer ward, and slew of the said Frenchmen ten persons."—Cottonian MSS.

[1] Entirely.

good, comfortable, and honourable unto us and this our realm; so they be and shall be unto the said Duke of Albany's perpetual reproach, shame, and loss of reputation, both in France, Scotland, and elsewhere, and to the no little abashment and discourage of the French king, besides the alienation percase of the minds of the lords of Scotland more facilely [1] than afore from the faction of France unto our devotion. And for the great travail, labour, study, pain, and diligence by you with all effect right actively, valiantly, and with perfect courage, discretion, and good conduct taken and used by many substantial, discreet, and public ways for resistance of the said Duke of Albany, with deliberation and intent to have given him battle in case he durst have abiden the same, we give unto you our most cordial and hearty thanks; assuring you that amongst many your high and notable services done unto us, we shall have this in our continual and perfect remembrance to your weal, exaltation, honour, and profit as your merits and deserts condignly and worthily do require. Praying you also to give on our behalf special thanks unto all the lords, captains, and other which to their great pain and travail have right towardly, benevolently, and conformably served us under you in this journey, for whose more courage and comfort we at this time send such letters of thanks as ye desire.

Over this, we having tender respect unto your health and comfort, have resolved and determined that upon advertisement received from you of scaling of the said

[1] Easily.

duke's army, and answer thereupon given unto you, with order for establishing of such garrisons and other direction to be taken there, as for the surety and weal of that country shall be thought expedient, ye shall then have our letters of discharge of office there and return unto us accordingly; being minded according to your advise and opinion that our right trusty councillor the Lord Dacres, whom we think most meet and able therefore, shall exercise also the office of warden of our east and middle marches for a season, to whom we shall then with our letters send sufficient commission accordingly. Having no doubt that by such direction as our most entirely well-beloved councillor the lord legate cardinal Archbishop of York and our chancellor hath advertised you, ye be before this time sufficiently furnished of money for defraying of that our army as shall appertain.

Given under our signet at our manor of Woodstock, the 12th day of November.

To our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and councillor the Earl of Surrey, our treasurer and admiral of England.

Henry VIII. to Cardinal Wolsey. [1]

Mine own good cardinal,—I recommend me unto you with all my heart, and thank you for the great pain and labour that you do daily take in my business and matters,

[1] MS. Cotton. Vesp. F. xiii. f. 71. There is no date to this note, but it may have been written in 1527, shortly before the disgrace of the Cardinal.

desiring you (that when you have well established them) to take some pastime and comfort, to the intent you may the longer endure to serve us, for always pain cannot be endured. Surely you have so substantially ordered our matters both of this side the sea and beyond, that in mine opinion little or nothing can be added: Nevertheless, according to your desire, I do send you mine opinion by this bearer, the reformation whereof I do remit to you and the remnant of our trusty councillors which I am sure will substantially look on it.

As touching the matter that Sir William Says brought answer of, I am well contented with what order soever you do take in it.

The queen my wife hath desired me to make her most hearty recommendations to you, as to him that she loveth very well, and both she and I would fain know when you will repair to us. No more to you at this time, but that with God's help I trust we shall disappoint our enemies of their intended purpose.

Written with the hand of your loving master,

HENRY REX.

To my Lord Cardinal.

King Henry VIII. to Cardinal Cibo.[1]

We are of opinion that no man can, without tears, behold, or without astonishment hear, the fatal news, the sad calamity and ruin of the city of Rome, which Jesus

[1] Transcript of the seventeenth century, preserved in a volume in Rawlinson's MSS. Translated from the Latin.

Christ, even to our days, had so long preserved as the Apostolic See, and has been held in such veneration by all. Can anything appear so black or enormous for any to commit, for those especially that have heretofore been so zealously devoted to the Christian religion, and wilfully offer violence to that holy place? The impiety of such is certainly very rash and bold, that have dared to perpetrate these acts, and treat with insolence and such inhumanity the most sacred person of our holy Lord, the true and only vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth; and, to that end, having cut off the head of Christendom, smote the shepherd of the flock of God, the holy church should be dispersed and lost—that the sheep, without any feed or care for them, should become a prey to ravenous wolves, and be devoured by them. Moreover, they have that which must certainly make the heart of every true Catholic bleed at the relation only of such a barbarity, not abstained even from Christ's own sacristy; for, having by open force seized and sacked the holy city, they distinguished not things sacred from things profane, plundered and robbed beyond the common terms or practice of war, and what claims our tenderest regard and, indeed, universal regret, after they had confined to a loathsome prison the sacred, supreme minister, that great bishop, by whose conduct and constancy all divine precepts have been dispensed for the benefit of mankind, they had the forehead[1] with unhallowed hands to cast dirt on and trample under feet the precious reliques of the omnipotent God and his holy saints, burnt the holy

[1] Assurance.

tabernacle, which has, with great devotion, been frequented so many years by the most faithful Christians of the world; and, with unheard-of profaneness, pulled the most precious body of Jesus Christ, and sprinkled his most noble blood on the dust.[1] To remedy these important evils, not only all the Christian princes, but all Christian people, ought to be concerned, to go to work and not depart from it, till all things be restored to their former decorum. Wherefore, we, being mindful of our duty and of our title, *Defender of the Faith*, have resolved and stedfastly determined, to the uttermost of our power, not to be wanting any way, but give succour and shelter against this storm, to lose no time, to try all means, to use all expedients, and not to spare even our own blood in the attempt; we purpose to re-establish the head of the Church to his pristine power, wipe off the injuries offered to our common father and head, and heal the wounds of his church. Wherefore, most reverend sir, we hope that you, with the rest of your brethren, whom the Divine mercy hath preserved from unworthy servitude, considering the quality and degree you are in in the Roman Catholic Church, and whose care it ought to be to oppose such mischiefs; I hope, I say, that you will not be wanting, on your part, to assist, with the same zeal and resolution those that are firm in belief and hope, to restore the glory of God. To this great end and purpose, we now send the most reverend and most illustrious

[1] The treasures of the Vatican were completely ransacked, and Rome suffered more on that occasion than from the incursions of the barbarians in more ancient times. Neither age nor sex was regarded in the general pillage.

cardinal of York, legate *a latere* of the Apostolic chair, your own lieutenant, which we rest and confide in as in ourselves, him we send in person to the most Christian king of France, our dearest brother, to agree upon a place to meet in, and consult on the matter of this great importance; to the end, that, with the most reverend legate and others, by common consent, you may contrive and fix upon such methods and means as may best conduce to the speedy enlargement of our most holy Lord, and the avoiding of so many fatal inconveniences that threaten us. And, whatever the issues of your deliberations shall be, those we will ratify and confirm; and, with all our authority and conduct, labour and force, promote and prosecute. I pray for your health and happiness.

From our Palace Mindas, the 10th day of July, 1527.

Henry VIII. to the Pope Clement VII.[1]

January 8th, 1528.

Most blessed Father in Christ,

The grief, the most bitter of all griefs, which we heretofore had felt at your holiness's captivity, has, by the brief just received of your liberation, which was asked of God by the prayers of all men, been so far softened, that (although our sorrow cannot be all at once wiped out) we experience an uncommon and exceeding joy, and are able to turn our mind, now refreshed, to the public welfare. For, to any Christian prince, much more

[1] MS. Cotton. Vitell. B. x. art. 6, translated from the original in Latin.

to us, who are most closely bound to your holiness by a truly filial love and by mutual and continued good offices, what could have happened more desirable or auspicious, than the news now brought of your liberation—that its common and most excellent father has been restored to a sinking and desponding world? That its true head and governor has been given back to the holy Apostolic See and the Christian religion? And that, by Divine providence, rather than human wisdom, he has escaped safe and sound, after having surmounted so great storms, turmoils, and dangers! Doubtless, for this sovereign blessing, we feel ourself indebted to Almighty God, who looks upon the humble from on high; and so, with most sincere supplications and sacrifices (of the heart) will we pray, that this blessing may be lasting; and to His name will we give glory and praise everlasting from our very soul, because he, at length pitying the afflicted people, has set free their shepherd and true father from the hand of his enemies, to the good of all mankind.

From this kindness, compassion, and mercy of God, we are now sure that the Christian church will recover its beauty, dignity, and power; and that your holiness, after having undergone such calamities, will, for probity, innocence, virtue, and piety, be venerated more than ever by the universal world. But, as your holiness acknowledges and writes that your liberation is owing to us, so we, for the same, own ourself indebted to the Saviour; meanwhile, not concealing that neither letters, means, nor good offices have been omitted by us, in order to hasten your liberation. And this we had fully resolved

on—to help you with our very life's blood, and at the risk of our own safety, which, with all zeal, ardour, and readiness, we will expose and stake, in raising up the state of the church, now, alas! too much trodden down, in restoring your holiness, and in re-establishing the dignity of the Apostolic See.

And, touching those conditions, which you were, by necessity, compelled to make with your enemies, we think it would be going too far to take them amiss, since we are assured that such could have been done but by Divine direction, and from no change of good will to ourself. But, however, from the Prothonotary Gambara, than whom you could send no more acceptable messenger to us[1] * * * * * * our very dear brother and perpetual ally * * * * * aid and assistance we will afford to your holiness, which will surely be agreeable to him, and shall be to the utmost of our power. What, however, we have hitherto done for your holiness's sake, you will hereafter learn more openly and fully than as yet could be, on account of your recent liberation. From the evidence of our services already done, you will easily be able to judge how much greater you may promise yourself at our hands, whom you will secure for ever as a most devoted friend to yourself and your whole family *by this one service alone;* that is, if in the granting of this, wherein the welfare and quiet of ourself and of our kingdom is concerned, and whereof we, both by our letters and ambassadors, have

[1] Here are some erasures of four or five lines, almost illegible.

lately been treating with your holiness most eagerly and earnestly, you will show yourself favourable, yielding, and inclined; and thus you will bind us to yourself, and to the preserving, helping, and protecting the Apostolic See, beyond what any prince whatever rightly ought to be bound; and you will ever find us and our kingdom most obedient to your wishes. Of this your holiness will more particularly be assured from Richard William, knight, our ambassador to your court. To him we most earnestly beg you will grant most implicit belief, and a quick despatch of the business desired and expected by me more than all things in the world.[1]

But we shall shortly find out that your holiness, driven by necessity and fear alone, in order to escape the wicked hands of your enemies, submitted to those terms, which we have just learnt by report, and more largely from Gambara the Prothonotary (than whom your holiness could not have sent back to us a more acceptable messenger). However, your holiness being now restored to liberty, it is for your own preservation most desirable, and for the rest and quiet of the Christian commonwealth, that you wholly refrain from performing those unjust terms, and that you keep nothing which your enemies by force and violence have extorted, contrary to justice and honour, and to the prejudice of yourself and your confederates. That your holiness may effect this more securely, the Lord Lautrec has it expressly in his instructions to advance boldly, in order to destroy the remnant of the

[1] This is another page in a different hand; the transition seems very abrupt, and perhaps something has been omitted.

enemy; so that, being at length subdued, they, who before had prescribed terms with such cruelty, will now be forced to accept those dictated by your holiness.[1] Thus, universal peace will be settled with more ease and despatch; and your holiness, seated in your apostolic chair, be reinstated into your former dignity, and restored to your crown.[2]

Henry VIII. to the Pope, thanking him for his ready attention to the king's suit—the divorce.[3]

February 10th, 1528.

Most blessed father,

Partly by letters written in your holiness's own hand to the Cardinal Archbishop of York, partly by your discourse held with, and assurance given to, the Reverend E. Terton, we have learnt with the utmost

[1] The French army, commanded by Lautrec, and accompanied by Sir Robert Jerningham, the English commissary, had passed the Alps for the express purpose of liberating Clement, who, however, accomplished that object by stratagem, escaping in the disguise of a gardener, and seeking refuge in Orvieto. Henry's object was accomplished by his envoys obtaining Clement's signature to a dispensation for his marriage. The Pope, however, observed, that in obeying the dictates of gratitude he had omitted all considerations of prudence.

[2] The erasures and interlineations are so numerous in this letter that it is to be feared the translation must occasionally be received with some degree of caution.

[3] MS. Cotton., Vitell., B. x., art. 40. Translated from the Latin original. There are two draughts in the MS., but evidently connected with each other. It is almost unnecessary to mention that this letter to the Pope was written at the time when Henry was soliciting the Papal See for a divorce from Katharine of Arragon in favour of Anne Boleyn.

pleasure not only how great the good will and affection is that you bear us, but also how ready and disposed you are to favour our wishes and requests, and how courteously you have promised to gratify our yearning desire. Since we were long halting in doubt whether this would be conceded by your holiness, and now promise ourself that the affair of your kindness is (as it were) accomplished, we return, as far as we can, thanks unbounded to you, who, in this cause alone, as urgent as it is upright, will for ever bind most closely to you, ourself, our resources, our kingdom, and all our friends. This you will be assured of, from the Reverend Master Terton, a man very well suited to the weightiest matters, as we know from this and others which he has done for and with us; a man, whose understanding, heart, and reverence for the Holy See you will more fully discover. And since, from the professions and promises which the Bishop of York and Master Terton have, in your holiness's name, made to us and most positively affirmed, we have conceived the surest confidence that you have fully determined to assent kindly to our petition; we most earnestly beg you to grant everything in that form and manner, which you will be informed by Reverend Master Terton, and Master Stephen Gardiner, and Master Edward Fox, is more valid, binding, secure, and fitting in our behalf.

Most blessed father, our fidelity and reverence towards your holiness and the Apostolic See is more firm and sure than ought to be expressed by messengers and the testimony of letters. Now, at this time, we, wholly con-

fiding in your holiness's goodness and affection, which you have ever shown to be truly paternal, fly to you as a suppliant, and most reverently beseech you; and more strenuously implore we the favour of the Apostolic See, (which ought to be open to every Christian man, much more to a prince) that it deign to show itself compliant and forward in conceding our just and sacred cause; a cause, truly, wherein is at stake the continuation of our succession, the quiet (as the ruin) of our kingdom, and the safety of our being. This is the favour, which alone, and now for the first time, we ask of your holiness and the holy see, and which ought not, cannot justly be denied to our piety and our efforts and endeavours for the Catholic cause.

Wherefore, from our very heart we pray your holiness that, if you love us, if you have ever held any services of ours acceptable—if, in short, our welfare, or even salvation concerns you, that you deign to relieve this so heavy anxiety of ours, and to lend a kind ear to these most just and proper entreaties; and by this benefit to bind us to you for ever. But your holiness will more expressly understand our mind and feeling from the letters of the Lord Legate, Archbishop of York, and from Master Stephen Gardiner, his secretary, and from Edward Fox,[1] our friend; in whom, as well as in our own self, we confide: to them, therefore, we beg you to give that

[1] Dr. Gardiner, who was eminently distinguished by his profound knowledge of the civil and canon law, and Dr. Edward Fox, here mentioned, were the agents appointed by the king to conduct his negociation.

credit which you would to ourself, speaking with you face to face, to give your warrant for all, and by your grace and authority to bring us down into the harbour of safety.

LOVE-LETTERS OF HENRY VIII.

The letters of Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn, perhaps the most remarkable documents of the kind known to exist, were published at Oxford in 1720 by Hearne, in a volume entitled *Roberti de Avesbury Historia de mirabilibus gestis Edvardi III.*, and inserted in the third volume of the Harleian Miscellany, 1745. These two editions differ considerably from each other, and still more so from the transcripts here given, which are taken from the edition printed at Paris. Either from hurry or carelessness, the English editors have not furnished faithful copies of the original autographs preserved in the Vatican library at Rome, where they are objects of particular curiosity to foreigners, and especially to English visiters.

When the successes of the French in Italy, under Buonaparte, in 1796 and 7, compelled the pope to sue for peace, among other trophies demanded by the republican general were five hundred manuscripts to be selected by French commissioners. The letters of Henry VIII. formed part of this booty. How they had found their way into the papal archives we are not informed; but they were transferred at that period to the Bibliothèque du Roi in Paris, where they remained till the stipulations of the general peace in 1815 obliged France to disgorge the treasures of art and literature of which she had plundered almost every nation in Europe.

While in Paris, these letters were copied with the most scrupulous accuracy by M. Meon, who held a situation in the Manuscript department of the Bibliothèque du Roi; and to this copy we are indebted for a more faithful transcript than has hitherto appeared in this country. The fifth and thirteenth, however, which

are not comprehended in the Vatican collection, are supplied from Hearne's work. Of the seventeen letters of which the series consists, eight are written in English and nine in French.

Miss Strickland relates that these letters were stolen from Anne Boleyn in the close of the year 1528, and conveyed to Rome by the intrigues probably of Wolsey, though great suspicion fell on the legate Cardinal Campeggio. When this legate was recalled by the pope, and about to embark, his trunks and other effects were strictly searched by the officers of the customs, upon pretext of examining whether he was carrying money or letters out of England to Rome, but in reality, as we are told by Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in hopes of finding a decretal bull issued by the pope annulling the king's marriage with Katharine, but retracted by the pontiff, and recovering Henry's love-letters to Anne Boleyn. But the search was vain; for those letters had been already sent to Rome, having been stolen from the king's closet, says the writer just quoted: but it seems much more probable that they were taken from the apartments of the lady to whom they were addressed.

They appear to have been written after Anne Boleyn had been sent away from court, in consequence of reports injurious to her reputation which had begun to be publicly circulated. Her removal indeed was so abrupt that she had resolved never to return. The king soon repented his harshness, and strove to persuade her to come back; but it was a long time, and not without great trouble, that he could induce her to comply. Her retirement did not take place before the month of May, 1528: this is proved by a letter from Fox, bishop of Hereford, to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, dated the 4th of May, in that year, in which the writer, who had just returned from Rome, whither he had been sent to negociate the king's divorce, gives an account of his landing at Sandwich on the 2nd, of his arrival on the same night at Greenwich, where the king then was, and of the order he received from him to go to the apartments of Anne Boleyn, which were in the

Tilt-yard, and inform her how anxious he had been to hasten the arrival of the legate, and how much he was rejoiced by it. This letter, formerly in the collection of Harley earl of Oxford, is now at Rome.

It must have been very soon afterwards that Anne Boleyn left the court. In fact, in the first letter of this series the king excuses himself for being under the necessity of parting from her. In the second he complains of the dislike which she shows to return to court: but in neither of them does he allude to the pestilential disease which in that year committed such ravages in England. In the third, however, he does advert to it as a disorder which has prevailed for some time, and on which he makes some observations.

Between this letter, probably written in the month of July, and the sixth, in which the king speaks of the arrival of the legate in Paris, and which must have been written about the end of September, there are two letters, certainly written within a few days of each other. In the second of these two, viz., the fifth of this series, the king expresses his extreme satisfaction which he has received from the lady's answer to his request. In the effusion of his gratitude, he pays a visit to his mistress, and both address a letter to Cardinal Wolsey, in which Henry manifests his astonishment at not having yet heard of the arrival of Campeggio, the legate, in Paris. The date of this letter may thus be fixed in the month of September.

The fourth, apparently written in August, is the most interesting of the whole collection, inasmuch as it fixes the period of the commencement of the king's affection for Anne Boleyn. He complains of "having been above a whole year struck with the dart of love," and that he is not yet certain whether he shall succeed in finding a place in the heart and affections of her whom he loves.

The last letter, which makes mention of the illness of the legate as the cause of the delay in the affair of the divorce, shows that

this correspondence ended in May, 1529, at which time the court of legates was opened for the final decision of that point.

Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, subsequently created earl of Wiltshire, after passing many years at the court of Claude, queen of Francis I. of France, returned to England about the end of the year 1525, at the age of eighteen. Here she was soon appointed maid of honour to Queen Katherine, and attracted the particular attentions of Henry VIII., who was then engaged in soliciting a divorce from the pope. The marked preference shown by the king for Anne Boleyn raised so much jealousy and slander that it was thought advisable by her family to remove the new favourite from the court; and it was during this retirement at Hever, a seat of her father's in Kent, that these letters were addressed to her by her royal lover. It was no doubt to render them the more agreeable that he wrote some of them in French. They breathe a fondness and an ardour which could scarcely leave room to doubt the sincerity of his love. The more painful are the reflections to which they give rise when we recollect that the man who with his own hand penned such fervent epistles, and for six years performed the part of the most impassioned lover, could doom the woman whom he had adored to the block, hurry her execution, and with joy await the signal of her death.

Catholic writers of various nations have been most assiduous in their endeavours to brand the memory of this most unfortunate of queens. Many of their calumnies have been derived from a history of the Reformation, published at Cologne in 1628, written by Sanders, an English catholic, the various editions of which have undergone alterations and interpolations by various hands, according to the views, the opinions, and frequently according to the influence of the political party which guided the pen of the different editors. Novelists themselves have not disdained to propagate these calumnies; and sometimes, by the grossness of their exaggerations, they have even invested them with an air of positive absurdity. Thus Madame de la Fayette, in her Princesse de Cleves,

introduces the queen-dauphiness, Mary Stuart, relating the history of Anne Boleyn, and giving in a few pages an analysis of the statements of Sanders. She begins in this manner: "Anne Boleyn was of a good English family. Henry VIII. had been enamoured of her sister and her mother, and it was even suspected that she was his daughter." A recent French writer of the article in the Biographie Universelle has dared, probably on no better authority than such records as these, to impute to "the hypocritical ambition" and "the profound immorality" of this first Protestant queen of England, the scaffolds, the gibbets, and the firebrands which stained the reigns of Henry and his two daughters with blood and ashes—a charge about as just as the remark of the brilliant but superficial Voltaire, that "England separated herself from the pope because Henry VIII. fell in love."

French writers have taken not less liberty in the portraiture of the person than of the character of Anne Boleyn. A contemporary panegyrist has related that she had a double nail on one of her fingers, but that she had the skill to change this defect into a beauty. On this hint probably it was gravely asserted in the *Dictionnaire des Sciences Medicales* that Anne Boleyn had six fingers on each hand. In the same work she is said to have been *multimame*, and in the same article is thrown out the conjecture that perhaps she had six toes on each foot. A few more superfluous endowments of this kind, and the woman who charmed the whole court of England may be made as hideous as you please. The reader will not be surprised to learn that the type of all these notable inventions, copied and successively augmented according to the taste of each writer, belongs to the veracious Sanders, who thus describes Anne Boleyn: "She had six fingers on her right hand, a long, sallow face, and a wen on her neck." In this manner, traditions, the one more absurd than the other, come to be perpetuated and admitted as authenticated facts even into the records of history.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.[1]

My mistress and friend, my heart and I surrender ourselves into your hands, beseeching you to hold us commended to your favour, and that by absence your affection to us may not be lessened: for it would be a great pity to increase our pain, of which absence produces enough and more than I could ever have thought could be felt, reminding us of a point in astronomy which is this: the longer the days are, the more distant is the sun, and nevertheless the hotter; so is it with our love, for by absence we are kept a distance from one another, and yet it retains its fervour, at least on my side; I hope the like on yours, assuring you that on my part the pain of absence is already too great for me; and when I think of the increase of that which I am forced to suffer, it would be almost intolerable, but for the firm hope I have of your unchangeable affection for me: and to remind you of this sometimes, and seeing that I cannot be personally present with you, I now send you the nearest thing I can to that, namely, my picture set in bracelets,

[1] This letter has been printed several times. Early copies of it are preserved in the British Museum, and another, with many variations, in Rawlinson's collection of MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It should be added that the order we have here adopted is that in which they have been printed by the French editor, and generally referred to. As it would have been perfectly impossible to discover the true chronological order of all of them, this plan seemed preferable to a new arrangement, which might lead to confusion in referring to the numbers, although it might be more consonant with the view we have taken of the occasions on which they were written.

with the whole of the device,[1] which you already know, wishing myself in their place, if it should please you. This is from the hand of your loyal servant and friend,

H. R.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.[2]

To my mistress.

Because the time seems very long since I heard concerning your health and you, the great affection I have for you has induced me to send you this bearer, to be better informed of your health and pleasure, and because, since my parting from you, I have been told that the opinion in which I left you is totally changed, and that you would not come to court either with your mother, if you could, or in any other manner; which report, if true, I cannot sufficiently marvel at, because I am sure that I have since never done anything to offend you, and it seems a very poor return for the great love which I bear you to keep me at a distance both from the speech and the person of the woman that I esteem most in the world; and if you love me with as much affection as I hope you do, I am sure that the distance of our two persons would be a little irksome to you, though this does not belong so much to the mistress as to the servant.

[1] Motto.

[2] Translated from the French original. Anne Boleyn had been dismissed from the service of the queen some time previously, and she does not seem to have forgotten the injury when desired to return to court by Henry. Notwithstanding the king's entreaties, she did not reappear at court till some time in 1527. Burnet suggests the possibility of her having returned to France in the interim. See Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens, vol. iv., p. 185.

Consider well, my mistress, that absence from you grieves me sorely, hoping that it is not your will that it should be so; but if I knew for certain that you voluntarily desired it, I could do no other than mourn my ill-fortune, and by degrees abate my great folly. And so, for lack of time, I make an end of this rude letter, beseeching you to give credence to this bearer in all that he will tell you from me.

Written by the hand of your entire servant,

H. R.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.

The uneasiness my doubts about your health gave me, disturbed and alarmed me exceedingly, and I should not have had any quiet without hearing certain tidings. But now, since you have as yet felt nothing, I hope, and am assured that it[1] will spare you, as I hope it is doing with us. For when we were at Walton, two ushers, two valets de chambre, and your brother,[2] [master treasurer] fell ill, but are now quite well; and since we have returned to your house at Hunsdon, we have been perfectly well, and have not, at present, one sick person, God be praised; and I think, if you would retire from Surrey, as we did, you would escape all danger. There is another

[1] That is, the sweating sickness.

[2] George Boleyn, created Viscount Rochford in the early period of his sister's favour. He was afterwards employed in several embassies, and at the time of his sister's marriage, the king appointed him governor of Dover Castle and warden of the Cinque Ports. Exalted by her fortune, he fell with her, and was beheaded on Tower Hill in 1536, on the charge of an incestuous connexion with the unhappy victim of the inconstant monarch.

thing that may comfort you, which is, that, in truth, in this distemper few or no women have been taken ill, and, what is more, no person of our court, and few elsewhere, have died of it. For which reason I beg you, my entirely beloved, not to frighten yourself nor be too uneasy at our absence; for, wherever I am, I am yours, and yet we must sometimes submit to our misfortunes, for whoever will struggle against fate is generally but so much the farther from gaining his end: wherefore comfort yourself, and take courage, and avoid the pestilence as much as you can, for I hope shortly to make you sing, *le renvoyé*. No more at present, for lack of time, but that I wish you in my arms, that I might a little dispel your unreasonable thoughts.

Written by the hand of him who is and always will be yours,

Im-H. R.-mutable.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.

On turning over in my mind the contents of your last letters, I have put myself into great agony, not knowing how to interpret them, whether to my disadvantage, as you show in some places, or to my advantage, as I understand them in some others, beseeching you earnestly to let me know expressly your whole mind as to the love between us two. It is absolutely necessary for me to obtain this answer, having been for above a whole year stricken with the dart of love, and not yet sure whether I shall fail or find a place in your heart and affection,

which last point has prevented me for some time past from calling you my mistress; because, if you only love me with an ordinary love, that name is not suitable for you, because it denotes a singular love, which is far from common. But if you please to do the office of a true loyal mistress and friend, and to give up yourself body and heart to me, who will be, and have been, your most loyal servant, (if your rigour does not forbid me) I promise you that not only the name shall be given you, but also that I will take you for my only mistress, casting off all others besides you out of my thoughts and affections, and serve you only. I beseech you to give an entire answer to this my rude letter, that I may know on what and how far I may depend. And if it does not please you to answer me in writing, appoint some place where I may have it by word of mouth, and I will go thither with all my heart.

No more, for fear of tiring you.

Written by the hand of him who would willingly remain yours,

H. R.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.[1]

For a present so beautiful that nothing could be more so (considering the whole of it), I thank you most cordially, not only on account of the fine diamond and the ship in which the solitary damsel is tossed about, but chiefly for the fine interpretation and the too humble

[1] The original of this letter is not in the Vatican collection; it has therefore been translated from the copy given in Hearne's work.

submission which your goodness hath used towards me in this case; for I think it would be very difficult for me to find an occasion to deserve it, if I were not assisted by your great humanity and favour, which I have always sought to seek, and will seek to preserve by all the kindness in my power, in which my hope has placed its unchangeable intention, which says, *Aut illic, aut nullibi.*[1]

The demonstrations of your affection are such, the beautiful mottoes of the letter so cordially expressed, that they oblige me for ever to honour, love, and serve you sincerely, beseeching you to continue in the same firm and constant purpose, assuring you that, on my part, I will surpass it rather than make it reciprocal, if loyalty of heart and a desire to please you can accomplish this.

I beg, also, if at any time before this I have in any way offended you, that you would give me the same absolution that you ask, assuring you, that henceforward my heart shall be dedicated to you alone. I wish my person was so too. God can do it, if He pleases, to whom I pray every day for that end, hoping that at length my prayers will be heard. I wish the time may be short, but I shall think it long till we see one another.

Written by the hand of that secretary, who in heart, body, and will, is

Your loyal and most assured servant,

H. R.

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[1] Either there or no where.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.

The reasonable request of your last letter, with the pleasure also that I take to know them true, causeth me to send you these news. The legate whom we most desire arrived at Paris on Sunday or Monday last past, so that I trust by the next Monday to hear of his arrival at Calais; and then I trust within awhile after to enjoy that which I have so long longed for, to God's pleasure, and both our comforts.

No more to you at this present, mine own darling, for lack of time, but that I would you were in mine arms, or I in yours, for I think it long since I kissed you.

Written after the killing of a hart, at eleven of the clock, minding,[1] with God's grace, to-morrow, mighty timely, to kill an other, by the hand which, I trust, shortly shall be yours.

HENRY R.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.

Darling,

Though I have scant leisure, yet, remembering my promise, I thought it convenient to certify you briefly in what case our affairs stand. As touching a lodging[2] for you, we have got one by my lord cardinal's means, the like or hire of which could not have been found hereabouts for all causes, as this bearer shall more show you. As touching our other affairs, I assure you

[1] Intending, or purposing.

[2] Alluding to Suffolk House, which Wolsey had procured for this purpose. It was contiguous to York House, now Whitehall.

there can be no more done, nor more diligence used, nor all manner of dangers both foreseen and provided for, so that I trust it shall be hereafter to both our comforts, the specialties whereof were both too long to be written, and hardly by messenger to be declared. Wherefore, till your repair hither, I keep something in store, trusting it shall not be long to; for I have caused my lord, your father, to make his provisions with speed; and thus, for lack of time, darling, I make an end of my letter, written with the hand of him which I would were yours.

H. R.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.

Though it is not fitting for a gentleman to take his lady in the place of a servant, yet, complying with your desire, I willingly grant it you, if thereby you can find yourself less uncomfortable in the place chosen by yourself than you have been in that which I gave you, thanking you cordially that you are pleased still to have some remembrance of me.

HENRY R.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.

The cause of my writing at this time, good sweetheart, is only to understand of your good health and prosperity; whereof to know I would be as glad as in mine own, praying God that (if it be his pleasure) to send us shortly together, for I promise you I long for it. How be it, I trust it shall not be long to; and

seeing my darling is absent, I can do no less than to send her some flesh, representing my name, which is hart flesh [1] for Henry.

As touching your sister's matter,[2] I have caused Walter Welche[3] to write to my lord [4] my mind thereon, whereby I trust that Eve shall not have power to deceive Adam; for surely, whatsoever is said, it cannot so stand with his honour but that he must needs take her, his natural daughter, now in her extreme necessity.

No more to you at this time, mine own darling, but that with a wish I would we were together an evening.

With the hand of yours,

H. R.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.[5]

Although, my mistress, it has not pleased you to remember the promise you made me when I was last with you—that is, to hear good news from you, and to have an answer to my last letter; yet it seems to me that it belongs to a true servant (seeing that otherwise he can know nothing) to inquire the health of his mis-

[1] Venison. A sentence is here unavoidably omitted.

[2] Her sister Mary, who had been left a portionless widow, with two infant children, and on whose behalf Anne had written to Henry a letter, to which this is the reply.

[3] Sir Walter Welche, one of the six gentlemen of his privy chamber. He was much trusted by the king.—*Cavendish.*

[4] Her father, Sir Thomas Boleyn, had been created Earl of Wiltshire and Ormonde.

[5] This letter was probably written by Henry after he had been unwillingly compelled to bend to public opinion, by dismissing Anne Boleyn for a time from Greenwich to Haver Castle.

tress, and to acquit myself of the duty of a true servant, I send you this letter, beseeching you to apprise me of your welfare, which I pray to God may continue as long as I desire mine own. And to cause you yet oftener to remember me, I send you by the bearer of this a buck, killed late last night by my own hand, hoping that when you eat of it you may think of the hunter; and thus, for want of room, I must end my letter, written by the hand of your servant, who very often wishes for you instead of your brother.

H. R.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.

The approach of the time for which I have so long waited rejoices me so much, that it seems almost to have come already. However, the entire accomplishment cannot be till the two persons meet, which meeting is more desired by me than any thing in this world; for what joy can be greater upon earth than to have the company of her who is dearest to me, knowing likewise that she does the same on her part, the thought of which gives me the greatest pleasure.

Judge what an effect the presence of that person must have on me, whose absence has grieved my heart more than either words or writing can express, and which nothing can cure, but that begging you, my mistress, to tell your father from me, that I desire him to hasten the time appointed[1] by two days, that he may be at court before the old term, or, at farthest, on the day

[1] For Anne's return to London.

prefixed; for otherwise I shall think he will not do the lover's turn, as he said he would, nor answer my expectation.

No more at present for lack of time, hoping shortly that by word of mouth I shall tell you the rest of the sufferings endured by me from your absence.

Written by the hand of the secretary, who wishes himself at this moment privately with you, and who is, and always will be,

Your loyal and most assured servant,

H. no other (A B) seeks. R.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.

There came to me suddenly in the night the most afflicting news that could have arrived. On three accounts I must lament it. The first, to hear of the illness[1] of my mistress, whom I esteem more than all the world, and whose health I desire as I do my own, so that I would gladly bear half your illness to make you well. The second, from the fear that I have of being still longer harassed by my enemy. Absence much longer, who has hitherto given me all possible uneasiness, and as far as I can judge is determined to spite me more. The third, because I pray God to rid me of this troublesome tormentor, because my physician, in whom I have most confidence, is absent at the very time when he might do

[1] Anne had been taken seriously ill of the pestilence, but she was restored to health by the skill and advice of Dr. Butts, the physician alluded to in this letter.

me the greatest pleasure; for I should hope, by him and his means, to obtain one of my chief joys on earth—that is the care of my mistress—yet for want of him I send you my second, and hope that he will soon make you well. I shall then love him more than ever. I beseech you to be guided by his advice in your illness. In so doing I hope soon to see you again, which will be to me a greater comfort than all the precious jewels in the world.

Written by that secretary, who is, and for ever will be, your loyal and most assured servant,

H. no other (A B) seeks. R.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.

Since your last letters, mine own darling, Walter Welsh, Master Brown, John Care, Brion of Brearton, and John Cork, the apothecary, be fallen of the sweat[1] in

[1] The sweating sickness. This disease made its first appearance in England in 1485, when it began in the army with which Henry VII. landed at Milford Haven, and soon spread to London. It returned at intervals of a few years five different times; and in 1517, being the fourth appearance, it carried off a great number of the nobility, and in some towns one-half of the inhabitants. Its next visitation was that here mentioned, in 1528, when many of the courtiers died of the disease, which generally proved fatal in six hours.

Cardinal du Bellay, who was at this time ambassador of France in England, furnishes many interesting particulars concerning this distemper, and its effects. In a letter dated London, June 18, 1528, he writes:—"One of the *filles de chambre* of Mademoiselle de Boulen was attacked on Tuesday by the sweating sickness. The king left in great haste, and went a dozen miles off; but it is denied that the lady Anne Boleyn was sent away, as suspected, to her brother the viscount, who is

this house, and, thanked be God, all well recovered, so that as yet the plague is not fully ceased here, but I trust shortly it shall. By the mercy of God, the rest of

in Cainet [Kent]. This disease, which broke out here four days ago, is the easiest in the world to die of. You have a slight pain in the head and at the heart; all at once you begin to sweat. There is no need for a physician; for if you uncover yourself the least in the world, or cover yourself a little too much, you are taken off without languishing, as those dreadful fevers make you do. But it is no great thing, for during the time specified about two thousand only have been attacked by it in London. Yesterday, having gone to swear the truce, they might be seen as thick as flies hurrying out of the streets and the shops into the houses, to take the sweat the instant they were seized by the distemper. I found the ambassador of Milan leaving his quarters in great haste, because two or three had been attacked by it. If, mousieur, all the ambassadors must have their share of it, in my case, at least, you will not have gained your cause, for you will not be able to boast that you have starvéd me to death; and, moreover, the king will have gained nine months of my service, which will not have cost him any thing. By the God of Paradise, if this sickness or fever call to see me, and I must take a sweat against the grain, I shall not feel so much regret about it as those who are better off than I am; but may God keep them so! But to return to London—I assure you that the priests there have a better time of it than the physicians, except that there is not enough of them to bury the dead. If the thing lasts, corn will soon be cheap. Twelve years ago, when the same thing happened, ten thousand persons died in ten or twelve days, it is said: but it was not so sharp as it is now beginning to be. M. the legate [Cardinal Wolsey] had come for the term; but he soon had his horses saddled again, and there will be neither assignation nor term. Every body is terribly alarmed."

In a letter of the 30th of June, the same ambassador gives further details concerning the progress of the disease:—"The lady is still at her father's. The king keeps changing his abode on account of this disorder: a good many of his servants have died of it within these two or three days. Of those whom you know, only Poowith, Careu, and Couton, are dead; but Fitzwilliam, my lord William, Brown, Bryant, who is at present of the bedchamber, Norris, Wallop, Chesney, Kingston, Paget, and generally all those of the bedchamber except one, have been attacked, or are now ill. It was said yesterday, that some more of them were at the point of death: I know not if they will escape. The king

us yet be well, and I trust shall pass it, either not to have it, or, at the least, as easily as the rest have done.

As touching the matter of Wilton, my lord cardinal hath had the nuns before him, and examined them, Mr.

is left all alone, keeping himself close. At the legate's they are playing the same game; but when all is said, those who do not expose themselves to the air rarely die; so that out of more than forty-five thousand who have been attacked in London, not two thousand have died, whatever people may say. It is true, that if you merely put your hand out of bed during the twenty-four hours, you instantly become stiff as a peacock.

"PS. Since writing my letters, I have been informed that a brother of the Earl of Derby's, and a son-in-law of the Duke of Norfolk's, have died suddenly at M. the legate's [Wolsey], who slipped out at the back-door with a few servants, and would not let any body know whither he was going, that he might not be followed. The king at last stopped about twenty miles hence, at a house which M. the legate has had built, because he sees that it is of no avail to change his residence; and I have it from good authority that he has made his will, and taken the sacraments, for fear of sudden seizure. Nothing ails him, thank God! and if he should be attacked by this sickness, which God forbid! I do not see that there would be any danger; only he must take good care of himself."

The last particulars given by the ambassador, under the date of July 21, 1528, are these:—"As to the danger which is in this country, it begins to diminish hereabouts, but increases in parts where it had not been. In Kent it is rife at this moment. Mademoiselle de Boulen and her father have had the disease, but they have got over it. The day that I had it at M. de Canterbury's [the archbishop] eighteen died of it in four hours; scarcely any escaped that day but myself, and I am not yet stout. The king has removed further than he was, and hopes that he shall not have the complaint. Still he keeps upon his guard, confesses every day, receives the sacrament on all holydays; and likewise the queen, who is with him. M. the legate does the same. The notaries have a fine time of it here; I believe there have been made a hundred thousand wills off-hand, because those who died all went mad the instant the disorder became severe. The astrologers say that this will turn to the plague, but I think they rave."—*MSS. de Bethune (Bibliothèque du Roy, in Paris)*, No. 8603, fol. 45.

Bell being present; which hath certified me that, for a truth, she had confessed herself (which we would have had abbess) to have had two children by two sundry priests; and, further, since hath been kept by a servant of the Lord Broke that was, and that not long ago. Wherefore I would not, for all the gold in the world, clog your conscience nor mine to make her ruler of a house which is of so ungodly demeanour; nor, I trust, you would not that neither for brother nor sister, I should so distain [1] mine honour or conscience. And, as touching the prioress, or Dame Eleanor's eldest sister, though there is not any evident case proved against them, and that the prioress is so old that for many years she could not be as she was named; yet notwithstanding, to do you pleasure, I have done that neither of them shall have it, but that some other good and well-disposed woman shall have it, whereby the house shall be the better reformed (whereof I ensure you it had much need), and God much the better served.

As touching your abode at Hever, do therein as best shall like you, for you know best what air doth best with you; but I would it were come thereto (if it pleased God), that neither of us need care for that, for I ensure you I think it long. Suche is fallen sick of the sweat, and therefore I send you this bearer, because I think you long to hear tidings from us, as we do likewise from you.

Written with the hand *de votre seul*,

H. R.

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[1] To stain, or defile.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.

Darling, these shall be only to advertise you that this bearer and his fellow be despatched with as many things to compass our matter, and to bring it to pass as our wits could imagine or devise; which brought to pass, as I trust, by their diligence, it shall be shortly, you and I shall have our desired end, which should be more to my heart's ease, and more quietness to my mind, than any other thing in this world; as, with God's grace, shortly I trust shall be proved, but not so soon as I would it were; yet I will ensure you there shall be no time lost that may be won, and further can not be done; for *ultra posse non est esse.* Keep him not too long with you, but desire him, for your sake, to make the more speed; for the sooner we shall have word from him, the sooner shall our matter come to pass. And thus upon trust of your short repair to London, I make an end of my letter, mine own sweet heart.

Written with the hand of him which desireth as much to be yours as you do to have him.

H. R.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.[1]

Darling, I heartily recommend me to you, ascertaining you that I am not a little perplexed with such things as

[1] Miss Strickland regards this note as the last of the series; and, considering the reproof implied in it, of Anne Boleyn's indiscreet "handling" of matters, that Henry of course desired to be kept a profound secret, it is probable that the latter would not venture to trust more letters to her

your brother shall on my part declare unto you, to whom I pray you give full credence, for it were too long to write. In my last letters I writ to you that I trusted shortly to see you, which is better known at London than with any that is about me, whereof I not a little marvel; but lack of discreet handling must needs be the cause thereof. No more to you at this time, but that I trust shortly our meetings shall not depend upon other men's light handlings, but upon our own.

Written with the hand of him that longeth to be yours.

H. R.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.[1]

Mine own sweetheart, this shall be to advertise you of the great elengeness[2] that I find here since your departing; for, I ensure you me thinketh the time longer since your departing now last, than I was wont to do a whole fortnight. I think your kindness and my fervency of love causeth it; for, otherwise, I would not have thought it possible that for so little a while it should have grieved me. But now that I am coming towards you, methinketh my pains be half removed; and also I am right well

hands. We have adopted the order in which they are found, for there are no dates, and the internal evidence is not sufficient to enable us to make any decisive arrangement.

[1] Sharon Turner considers this letter as written in very *decorous*, affectionate, and earnest terms! Making all allowances for the manners of the times, it can only exhibit Henry's profligate passion in no very creditable light; nor does it say much for Anne's sense of propriety that she could consent to receive, much less preserve, notes of such a coarse character.

[2] Loneliness—misery. The term is still used in some parts of Kent. "It is an ellinge house," *i. e.* lonely, solitary.

comforted in so much that my book maketh substantially for my matter;[1] in looking whereof I have spent above four hours this day, which caused me now to write the shorter letter to you at this time, because of some pain in my head; wishing myself (especially an evening) in my sweetheart's arms, whose pretty dukkys I trust shortly to cusse.[2]

Written with the hand of him that was, is, and shall be yours by his own will,

H. R.

Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.

To inform you what joy it is to me to understand of your conformableness with reason, and of the suppressing of your inutile and vain thoughts with the bridle of reason. I assure you all the greatness of this world could not counterpoise for my satisfaction the knowledge and certainty thereof. Therefore, good sweetheart, continue the same, not only in this, but in all your doings hereafter; for thereby shall come, both to you and me the greatest quietness that may be in this world.

The cause why the bearer stays so long, is the gear I have had to dress up for you;[3] which I trust, ere long, to see you occupy;[4] and then I trust to occupy yours, which shall be recompense enough to me for all my pains and labour.

[1] The king here alludes to a treatise he was then composing on the unlawfulness of his present marriage.

[2] To kiss.

[3] The furnishing of Suffolk House.

[4] To use.

The unfeigned sickness of this well-willing legate [1] doth somewhat retard this access to your person; but I trust verily, when God shall send him health, he will with diligence recompense his demur. For I know well when he hath said (touching the saying and bruit [2] that he is thought imperial),[3] that it shall be well known in this matter that he is not imperial; [3] and this, for lack of time. Farewell.

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[1] Cardinal Campeggio, who was expected to open the legantine court, and pronounce the divorce. Anne suspected that his illness was fictitious.

[2] *Bruit*, noise or report, rumours.

[3] Meaning that he was not devoted to the interests of Queen Katherine's nephew, the emperor.—*Miss Strickland's Queens*, vol. iv. p. 202.

Anne Boleyn to Cardinal Wolsey.[1]

My lord, in my most humblest wise that my heart can think, I desire you to pardon me that I am so bold to trouble you with my simple and rude writing, esteeming it to proceed from her that is much desirous to know that your grace does well, as I perceive by this bearer that you do, the which I pray God long to continue, as I am most bound to pray; for I do know the great pains and troubles that you have taken for me is never like to be recompensed on my part, but alonely[2] in loving you next unto the king's grace above all creatures living. And I do not doubt but the daily proofs of my deeds shall manifestly declare and affirm my writing to be true, and I do trust you to think the same.

My lord, I do assure you, I do long to hear from you news of the legate; for I do hope, as they come from you, they shall be very good; and I am sure you desire it as much as I, and more, an it were possible; as I know it is not: and thus remaining in a stedfast hope, I make an end of my letter.

Written with the hand of her that is most bound to be

Your humble servant,

ANNE BOLEYN.

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[1] This letter, though not properly belonging to the present collection, has been inserted for the purpose of introducing that appended to it by the king. Soon after he had addressed to his mistress the fifth of the preceding series, in the warmth of his passion he paid her a visit at Hever, and there this double letter to Wolsey was penned by them. The reference of the king to the anxiously expected arrival of Cardinal Campeggio proves it to have been written some time in September, 1528.

[2] Entirely; wholly.

Postscript by King Henry.

The writer of this letter would not cease, till she had caused me likewise to set my hand, desiring you, though it be short, to take it in good part. I ensure you that there is neither of us but greatly desireth to see you, and are joyous to hear that you have escaped this plague so well, trusting the fury thereof to be passed, especially with them that keepeth good diet, as I trust you do. The not hearing of the legate's arrival in France causeth us somewhat to muse; notwithstanding, we trust, by your diligence and vigilancy (with the assistance of Almighty God), shortly to be eased out of that trouble. No more to you at this time, but that I pray God send you as good health and prosperity as the writer would.

By your loving sovereign and friend,

H. R.

Henry VIII. to his Ambassadors of Rome.[1]

Trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well. Since your departure from hence, we have received sundry your letters to us directed; whereof the last bare date at Rome, the fourth day of the last month; and have also seen such other as from time to time you have sent to the Most Reverend Father in God, our most entirely

[1] MSS. Cotton. Vitell. B. xi. Art. 34. This is a curious document in the history of the divorce. Gardiner had been despatched to Rome at the commencement of the year, to plead with the Pope in the king's favour.

beloved councillor, the lord legate archbishop of York, primate of England, and our chancellor. By the contents whereof we have been advertised of the successes as well of your journey thitherward, as of such things as you to that time had done in our causes to you committed; for the which your diligent advertisement, and good acquittal, we give unto you condign thanks; ascertaining you that we do not a little marvel, that in your said last letters you show so much desperation of any great favour to be had at the pope's hand in our said causes; considering that neither you then had spoken unto his holiness in the same, nor by such conferences as ye had had with Maestro Jacobo Salviati, or other on his behalf, we can perceive but great good favour and towardness; though peace, the superiority of themselves, and the common fame, led you to think the contrary.

Howbeit we know no credence is to be given unto such common report, and we trust the same shall prove more true than hath done the opinion that was of the lord legate Campegius now here resident, which we find and certainly know to be of a far other sort in his mind and inclination towards us than was spoken, not having such affection towards the emperor, as in him was suspected. And, to be plain with you, if ever he had been of other mind, we have said somewhat to him after such manner as might soon change that intention. So that little faith is to be given to the outward sayings and opinions of such people, as measure every thing at their pleasure: which we doubt not but you right wisely do consider,

and that you have, before this time, by your diligent solicitation, made to speak with the pope's holiness for declaration of your charge, proved the contrary: whereof we shall be glad and joyous to hear. Willing and desiring you, therefore, according to the great and special confidence that we have in you, to pretermit no time in the diligent handling and execution of your said charge; but by one good way or other to find the mean (if you have not already done it) to declare the same unto the pope; wherein the good advice and address of the bishop of Verona shall, we trust, do you great furtherance; and by whose means (if you for the pope's debility or sickness might in no wise be often admitted into his presence) you may signify unto him, at great length, our whole mind, desire, and intent, after such form as your instructions and letters given and sent unto you in that behalf, do purport. For, be sure you may be, that it shall highly confer to the benefit of our causes, that you have there present one so fast and assured friend unto us, as we trust the said bishop of Verona is; who shall be able right largely to countervail and meet with the malicious practices of the archbishop of Capua, who is thought to be one of the chief ductors [1] and contrivers of the falsities, crafts, and abuses set forth to the hindrance of our said causes, which no man shall more politely and facilely deprehend than the said bishop of Verona may do. And, therefore, he is by you with all good means and ways possible to be entertained, as we doubt not but you will have special heed and regard to the making,

[1] Leaders.

winning, and conservation of as many friends to our purpose, as you can possibly attain; so handling yourselves, as now may appear your dexterity and perfect endeavour to conduce, with your diligent labour and policy, our matters, to the speedy, undelayed, and desired end and effect; which you may be sure we shall not put in oblivion, but will have the same in remembrance accordingly. Marvelling, nevertheless, that, though you and Stephens could not bring hitherto our great causes to perfection, you had not in the mean season advertised us what is done, touching such bulls as were to be sped for other particular matters, whereof no mention is made in your said letters; willing and desiring you, therefore, by your next letters, to advertise us in what state and train the same be; knowing right well, that you, being not only by former letters and writings, but also by such as be sent unto you at this time, sufficiently and amply instructed of our mind and pleasure, will now so acquit yourself as shall correspond to the perfect expectation and firm opinion that we have of you, which we shall not fail to have in our tender consideration to your weal, as is aforesaid.

You shall also, in your conferences with the said bishop of Verona, understand and know of him by what ways and means you may further his advancement to the cardinality; exhorting him, of the manifold good effects that thereof may ensue, to conform himself to the acceptation thereof, if it may be obtained; for, doubtless his virtue, wisdom, experience, fidelity, and other great and commendable merits well considered, we think no man

more meet, at this time, to be preferred thereunto than him. And, therefore, our express mind and pleasure is, that you, by all the ways and means to you possible [win him to our service]. And finally, we will that you show unto him how effectually we have written to you in that behalf; to the intent, being advanced thereunto, he may give us the better thanks, and in every way bear to us the more perfect affection.

And by your next letters we will that you advertise us what advocates ye have on our part, with their names and qualities; finding the means also, if it be possible, to retain some notable and excellent divine, a friar, or other that may, can, or will, firmly stick to our causes; and of all the successes to advertise us, as our special trust is in you.

Given under our signet, at our manor of Greenwich, the 6th of April, 1529.

Henry VIII. to James V. of Scotland.[1]

Right excellent, right high, and mighty prince; our dearest brother and nephew; in our most hearty manner we commend us unto you, and have received as well your letters of the 12th of January, desiring our safe-conduct for the safe conveyance of your two ambassadors, which you do now send into France. Which safe-conduct you shall receive herewith, as also your former letters of the 11th of January, wherein you grievously complain of the injuries and wrongs which you affirm to be

[1] Lansdowne MSS. No. 255, art. 78.

done to your subjects by our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and councillor the Earl of Northumberland, warden of our east and middle marches: desiring to be advertised whether the said injuries be committed with our consent and knowledge, or otherwise; alleging therein manifestly to tend to the rupture of peace and the violation of the amity heretofore contracted between us.

Dearest nephew, truth it is, that in like manner as at all times heretofore, upon the arrival of any of your letters addressed to us, containing complaints of any of our officers or subjects for the enterprising of any such act, as might tend to the violation of the peace between us; we, nothing more desiring than the continuance of the said peace, have evidently declared our good mind in the diligent examination and trial of the truth with effectual execution of justice. And that not only from your beginning, touching the preservation of your person and dignity in the time of your minority and tender age, which we doubt not but you know and do right well remember and consider, accounting us therein to have in every point accomplished the office of a perfect friend;—but also have so formly[1] continued our friendship towards you since that time, as we would never be induced, upon any ground or occasion, notwithstanding the manifold injuries done by sundry your subjects to ours, with open-day forays made into our realm, and that by some of your wardens whose offices were rather to endeavour themselves to the continuance of amity between us, than

[1] Uniformly.

to minister any such occasion of the contrary, manifestly in your behalf, tending to the breaking of the said peace, to conceive or think otherwise of you than of our assured friend, ever imputing the want of redress and the enterprising of such evil attempts as have been on your part committed to the negligence of your officers, and to be done contrary to your mind and desire; being in your letters many times to our great revise[1] and comfort expressed unto us; so, at this time no less minding the observation of the said amity and peace than we have done heretofore, and as the proximity of our blood requireth; we have called our said warden before us and our council upon the receipt of your said letters, and have examined the truth how and after what sort your said subjects and their goods were detained.

And first. Whereas you ascribe unto our said warden's charge the arresting of a ship at our port of Tynemouth, we signify unto you that, having as well examined our said warden as other notable personages thereupon, we find that the merchants, your said subjects, being in the said ship, incontinently upon their arrival at our said port, began to make port-sale of such merchandizes as they brought with them, not making our customers privy thereunto. By reason whereof, by the laws and statutes of our realm, forasmuch as our customs due for the said merchandizes were not paid, as well the said goods being sold as the other remaining unsold, they were to us forfeited, upon which ground and title the said ship was arrested. And, as touching the detaining of your subjects

[1] Relief.

at Warkworth, which you impute also to our said warden's default, you shall further understand that they were not by him nor his means arrested, but by the sheriff of our county of Northumberland, which perceiving them to pass through our realm without our safe-conduct, thought he could not (his duty done towards us) suffer them so to pass, in that the treaty of peace passed between us would maintain them in that behalf, and hath therein excused our said warden from blame. All which notwithstanding, and albeit we know right well your mind is none otherwise but that your subjects, repairing to our realm, should, being here, observe and keep (as reason requireth) the laws and customs of the same, as we would in like manner our subjects, resorting to your realm, should observe the semblable there; to the intent you shall perceive in us in deeds no less conformity to the continuance and increase of love, amity, and concord between us, than we have expressed in words, not minding so to deal with your said subjects, as in this case we might with justice and without offension[1] of the said peace passed between us; we have not only given commandment as well for the delivery of your said subjects being with the said sheriff, as also for the delivery of their goods at Tynemouth, which we doubt not but you shall perceive to take effect ere the receipt of these our letters; but also have sent at this time unto you our trusty servant Carlile, one of our heralds at arms, instructed of our further mind, with our friendly advice, touching redress to be made indifferently on the borders;

[1] Offence; detriment.

to whom we most heartily pray you, dearest brother and nephew, to give faith and credence, and with such wisdom and dexterity to ponder the effect as well of these our said letters as of the said credence to be declared by our said servant Carlile unto you, as thereby may ensue perfect love, amity, and peace betwixt us, to the pleasure of Almighty God, the wealth of our subjects, and the tranquillity of both our realms.

And, whereas, dearest brother and nephew, your officers of your town of Aberdeen have lately, upon suspicion of piracy, arrested one of our subjects, called John Horwell,[1] merchant, in our Isle of Wight, his fellows, ship, and goods; which John, his fellows, ship, and goods you write you would at all times have been contented to deliver, upon advertisement from us in that behalf. You shall understand, we have since as well examined the said Horwell being escaped, since that time, out of your prison, as sundry other, of the truth of that matter, which we certainly know. And therefore, dearest brother and nephew, we desire and pray you that you cause the ship, wherein the said Horwell was taken, and the goods being in the same, at his arrival to be delivered

[1] This circumstance is thus alluded to in a contemporary letter in the Cottonian MSS.—"And on the tenth of this present month, an untoward matter took place at Aberdeen in Scotland, tending to further disagreement between the two countries; for an English merchant of Southampton named Horwell had his ship laden with goods stopped at the said port, and ransacked and ruined, they thinking or delivering out that they thought him guilty of piracy upon the seas, though in what particular or on whose vessels the said Horwell had committed piracy has not yet been ascertained."

to our trusty and well-beloved servant, Sir Thomas Clifford, captain of our town of Berwick, or to such other as shall resort unto you in his name for that purpose; to the intent we may take such order with them as shall stand with equity and justice.

Right excellent, right high, and mighty prince, our dearest brother and nephew, we beseech Almighty God have you in His blessed keeping!

Given under our signet at our manor of Westminster, the second day of March, the 23rd year of our reign.

Henry VIII. to his Ambassador at the Court of Charles V. to certify the Emperor of the honourable usage done to the Lady Catherine, and her daughter Mary; and to declare to him the just causes of the separation from the Lady Dowager, and to show him the copy of the new Acts of Parliament. He repels the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome.[1] 1534.

Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well; and perceiving, by your several letters unto us addressed, your discreet dealing and substantial behaviour in such things as were committed unto your charge there, to our contentation and pleasure, for the which, and also your good advertisements, we give unto you our most hearty thanks. You shall understand that, as touching the bruit[2] in the Emperor's court ayenst[3] the misentreating

[1] Cotton. MS. Nero, B. vi. art. 36. This letter is an engrossed original.

[2] Rumour.

[3] Against.

of the Lady Katherine, Princess Dowager, and our daughter, the Lady Mary, which we do specially note in your said letters, surely considering and taking the case as it standeth, that every man, without respect of any earthly thing, is bound to regard the laws of God, and to fear and dread Him specially in so great a matter, whereupon dependeth not only the salvation of the parts spiritual, but also the weal of our realm, and, consequently, of all Christendom, the justness of the cause, and our due, sincere, deliberate proceeding in the same, by so long time approved and discussed, as may well appear to all the world, which we doubt not but you can well declare and show. It is not a little to our marvel that, touching the fact, either the emperor, or any of his wise council learned, or other discreet person would in anything think of us, touching our proceeding therein, but that which is godly, honourable and reasonable, agreeing both to the laws of God and our most bounden duty towards the observance of the same. And, as touching that which is spoken there, that the said Lady Katherine should not be honourably and well entreated, as to such a person appertaineth; to that, both to the emperor and his council, or to any other that will so affirm, you may truly allege that such report and bruit is untrue, affirming that in all things belonging to the said Lady Katherine, both in the honourable establishing of her house with her officers and servants, and in the allotting and appointing unto her of lands, tenements, possessions, and all other things condign for such an estate, it is done in every thing to the best that can

be devised, whom we do order and entertain as we think most expedient, and also as to us seemeth prudent.[1] For, as we think it not meet that any persons should prescribe unto us how we should order our [arrangements], and the like also of our daughter, the Lady Mary, we being her natural father; which things our pleasure is that you boldly and assuredly shall declare and defend at any time, as well to the said Emperor, as to any that shall furnish to you any occasion so to do.

And in case you shall perceive that the said Emperor himself, speaking of the premises, doth give any credence to the said untrue bruit, you may then, declaring unto him the truth, say that, considering the great friendship, amity, love, and kindness, which, heretofore, hath been between him and us, we cannot but marvel that, upon such a fame[2] brought up untruly against us, it should in any wise be taken credible, or be believed of him specially, who, we doubt not, knoweth, besides our duty to God, how much we have ever esteemed our honour. And albeit the said Lady Katherine hath very disobediently behaved herself towards us, as well in contemning and

[1] "But the king vows that the queen [Catherine] is provided for sufficiently well, never bearing in mind towards her what sufferings she has passed and undergone since his Grace flung her off as a serpent casteth his skin, and returneth not to it again. I pray you carry not this to any servants of my said lord, for which I might truly bear annoyance, and be considered no longer worthy of my office; but in truth who can resist the speech of so great a wrong, and I a woman, never considering such a contract as that made by the king's grace freely broken? I cannot for the shame of that action convey more of the particulars to you by this bearer, who is entrusted not only by myself, but by good Master Long." *Letter in Tanner Manuscripts.*

[2] Report; rumour.

setting at nought our laws and statutes, as many other ways, yet for the conservation of our honour, you may assure the said Emperor and all men, that we have, nevertheless, as much devised from her honourable entretenement,[1] in all points as was beseeming for her estate, inasmuch as we have at many and sundry times sent unto her not only our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and councillor, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with other our nobles and councillors, but also the Reverend Father in God, the archbishop of York, the most Reverend Father in God, the bishop of Durham[2] and Chester, and other spiritual persons, right well learned, and also being men of great virtue, to intimate and declare unto her, as well the justness of our cause, and all the determinations thereupon affirmed by the most famous universities and clerks of Christendom, with the whole conclusions and circumstances of the same, as also to declare unto her our laws and ordinances, made for the establishment, weal, honour, and surety of us and our realm, in most loving fashion, and by all the honourable and gentle means that could be; persuading, moving, and exhorting her to conform herself to the following and obedience of the same accordingly, showing unto her the dangers and great inconveniences that might ensue and happen to her, if she should offend, or in anywise resist and withstand the same, offering further unto her such honourable dowry, lands, tenements, and possessions, being to her already allotted, as were condign for her estate, with any other reasonable entertainment that she

[1] Lodging. [2] *Duresme*, in Orig. MS.

should and might lawfully require, which (nevertheless, notwithstanding), she hath in most ungodly, obstinate, and inobedient[1] wise, wilfully resisted, set at nought, and contemned our said laws and ordinances, so as if we should or would attempt or minister to her any rigour or extremity, she were undoubtedly within the extreme danger of our said laws.

Before and after all which said intimations and declarations, or the most of them, by our said councillors intimated and declared to the said Lady Katherine, (as is aforesaid) the same offers were made, opened, and declared unto the Emperor's ambassador here resident in our realm, who, if he would, could have certified the said Emperor, his master, the verity and truth, how honourably the said Lady Katherine was by us in all things entreated,[2] as is aforesaid; and again, in acquittal of the same, how contemptuously, uncharitably, and disobediently, she hath used and showed herself towards us and our laws. So as, if the said ambassador, according to his duty, and for the conservation and continuance of the peace, zeal, amity, and love betwixt us, and his said master the emperor, had certified the premises according to the mere verity and truth, we think there could have no such bruit been there untruly noised, surmised, and spread in those parts as now by your letters we do perceive there is, without any good, reasonable, or just cause in the world.

Therefore, first, and afore[3] any manner of credence had been given thereto by the emperor, we would have

[1] Disobedient. [2] Treated; served. [3] Before.

thought he would have advertised us of the same, and so to have known our answer and declaration, whereby all such feigned, supposable, and evil opinions might have been razed and abolished from those minds that might give light credence; as likewise for the entire love, amity, and friendship that is and hath been betwixt the said emperor and us, we would have used ourself towards him afore we would have given credence or been contented to have heard seriously any like matters or tales that should have touched him so near; as you may exhort him not to give ear to any such feigned bruits, without perfect knowledge of the truth, as it is the office of one friend to do to another. Declaring, furthermore, unto the said emperor and other, as ye shall have occasion, and as you right well can after your accustomed wisdom and dexterity that, considering not only our first marriage contracted with the said Lady Catherine, to have been by the most famous clerk of Christendom proved, adjudged, and determined very incestuous and unlawful, and directly against the laws of Almighty God (wherewith no man can dispense) but also prepending the danger that thereof might have ensued hereafter to us and our realm and succession; we could no less do, unless we should seem to contemn the word and laws of Christ, than utterly renounce and forsake the said incestuous and unlawful matrimony, which being so found, justly proved, and determined, as is aforesaid, we have now God's word and laws standing with us, with no little advice and deliberation, and in clearing and discharging of our conscience, lawfully ensued and accomplished. Trusting that not

only the emperor, but all other good people sincerely revolving and animadverting our lawful and just proceedings, with also the sincerity and justness of our cause, which the bishop of Rome himself confessed to be just and lawful, and that by him we therein had sustained no little injury; insomuch that he promised our good brother the French king that, if we would send a proxy, he would, at his meeting with our said good brother at Marseilles, give sentence in our principal cause with us and on our part, which we, being a king, and knowing ourself not bound so to do by the laws of God, utterly refused, so as because we would not thereby condescend nor agree to the usurped jurisdiction and authority of him, that is and ever hath been the only enemy of kings, nor would, in derogation of ours and all other princes' powers, consent to support and condescend to his long said usurped jurisdiction and authority, which hath so much heretofore blemished and defaced the privileges given by God to all princes and kings; he therefore unjustly and maliciously hath pronounced sentence against us, notwithstanding our appeal to the general council lawfully made before. Whereby you may perceive he did the same rather for malice and the maintenance of his own usurped power, authority, and too much mundanity,[1] than for any respect that he had to the mere truth and verity. Which being proponed[2] and declared to the said emperor, and that in the final determination of our said cause, and all the whole circumference thereof, we have, according to our most bounden duty, nothing else studied,

[1] Worldliness. [2] Proposed.

practised, nor intended, but the satisfaction of Almighty God, the observance of his word and laws, the preservation of our honour, the wealth, establishment, and surety of our realm and succession, as well in the lawful separation of us from the said incestuous matrimony, contracted against the law of God and nature, with the said Lady Katherine: and also in making and devising of wholesome laws, ordinances, and statutes within our realm for the weal and surety of the same; the said emperor leaving his worldly affection, which (as it seemeth to us) he hath in more estimation than God's word and the truth; whereof we cannot a little marvel, that he, being a man of such honour and authority, will so carnally incline, forgetting God and his friend (as he doth) who you may assuredly affirm hath at all times showed him like a friend, leaving all respects, and thus persuading him and exhorting all other, which shall speak to you, of the case, to give place to the mere verity and truth.

They of equity neither can nor will otherwise deem nor judge of us, but that the same our proceedings have been always grounded upon a just, godly, virtuous, and honourable intent and purpose. And, if their blind affection cannot be satisfied, we must, as we have ever hitherto done, commit our cause and the justness thereof to the only order and judgment of Him that knoweth all truth; who we doubt not in all our proceedings ever hath and will defend us. For you may constantly affirm to the said emperor, that we doubt not but he knoweth the truth, if he would leave carnal affection and vain worldly respects, and prefer the truth, as he, being a prince of honour, is bound to do.

For declaration and setting forth whereof in such good terms, time, and place as the emperor and others, whom you shall chance to communicate the same unto, may the rather, by your affable and discreet exhortations, be persuaded and allected[1] to leave their said affection and all other vain mundane[2] respects, and only to regard the mere verity and truth, we have no manner of doubt, diffidence, nor mistrust in your approved wisdom, policy, and discretion, heartily requiring you to conform yourself thereunto, according to our trust and expectation, which we shall not fail to have in good remembrance accordingly. And to the intent it may appear, whether of good congruents we ought to make such laws within our realm as we have done, and whether the same be agreeable to reason, equity, God's law, and the weal of our said realm, we have sent you the book and copy of our said laws made and imprinted, because you may the better upon the same judge and consider what is done therein, and the better make answer to all points as shall appertain.

Private letter of the King to the Treasurer of Ireland.[3]
A.D. 1535.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well; and having by sundry means been advertised how that at all times, when any exploits have been done against our rebels, you have been ready to put yourself in armour,

[1] Allured. [2] Worldly.
[3] MSS. in Lambeth Palace Library.

and have adventured your body against the same, whereby you declared your good courage and loyal heart to do unto us true and faithful service. Like as, on the one side, we cannot but take that your good mind and endeavour therein in very good part, and give unto you our hearty thanks for the same; so, on the other side, considering how that your charge, being our under-treasurer there and the receiver-general of all our revenues within that our said land, is such that, unless you shall set all other business apart, and wholly apply and endeavour yourself to the uttermost of your power to accomplish your office and duty therein, you shall not be able to serve us in the same either to our honour or profit. We have thought expedient, by these our letters, to command you that from henceforth you shall not only forbear to adventure yourself in person at such exploits as shall be made against our said rebels, unless it be in a case of great necessity, or where you may be present to the advancement of our honour, without the impeachment or hindrance of your necessary business; but also to require you in such wise to employ all your wit, from time to time, to get in our revenues there, and to bring the same into such order, as we may both know the certainty of the same, and perceive that they be rather by your diligence advanced, than for want of good looking diminished. Whereby you shall both answer to the good expectation, which we have always hitherto conceived of you, more highly content and please us; and, over that, stand us in better stead and service for the advancement of our affairs there, than you should by

your personal presence in armour in our wars, not tending and applying your own charge in other things before specified.

HENRY.

Henry VIII. to the Judges, touching his renunciation of the Pope's authority, and his own assumption of the title of Supreme Head of the Church.[1]

Trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas heretofore you know, both upon most just and virtuous foundation founded upon the laws of Almighty God and Holy Scriptures, and also by the deliberate advice, consultation, consent, and agreement, as well of the bishops and clergy, as by the nobles and commons temporal of this our realm assembled — our high court of Parliament, and by authority of the same, the abuses of the bishop of Rome, his authority and jurisdiction of long time usurped against us, have not only been utterly extirped,[2] abolished, and secluded, but also our nobles and commons, both of the clergy and temporalty, by another several act and upon like foundation for the public good of this our realm, have voted, given, and addressed to us and the crown imperial of this our realm, the title, dignity, and style of Supreme Head in Earth, immediately under God, of the Church of England, as undoubtedly evermore we have been; which things also the said bishops and clergy in their convocations have wholly and entirely consented, ratified, confirmed, and ap-

[1] Harleian MSS. No. 283. Art. 46.

[2] Rooted out.

proved authentically; writing both by their special oaths, professions, and writings, under their signs and seals; so, utterly renouncing all other oaths, obedience, and jurisdiction, either of the bishop of Rome or of any other potentate. We let you wit that, perpending[1] and considering the charge and commission in this behalf given unto us by Almighty God, together with the great quietness, rest, and tranquillity, that hereby may ensue to our faithful subjects, both in their consciences and otherwise, to the pleasure of Almighty God, in case the said bishops and clergy of this our realm should sincerely, truly, and faithfully set forth, declare, and preach unto our said subjects, the very true word of God; and without all or any colour, dissimulation, and hypocrisy, manifest, publish, and declare the great and innumerable enormities and abuses, which the said bishop of Rome, as well in title and style, as also in authority and jurisdiction, of long time unlawfully and unjustly hath usurped upon us, our progenitors, and all other Christian princes, have not only addressed our letters general to all and every the same bishops, straitly charging and commanding them not only in their proper persons to declare and preach unto the people the true, mere, and sincere word of God, and how the said title, style, and jurisdiction of supreme head appertaineth unto us, our crown, and dignity-royal, and to give like warning, monition, and charge to all abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons, provosts, parsons, vicars, curates, schoolmasters, and all other ecclesiastical persons within their diocese to do the semblable[2]

[1] Pondering upon. [2] Like.

in their charges every Sunday and solemn feast, and also in their schools; and to cause all manner of prayers, orisons, rubrics, and canons, in mass-books and all other books used in charges, wherein the said bishop is named, to be utterly abolished, eradicate, and razed out in such wise, as the said bishop of Rome, his name, and memory, for evermore (except unto his contumely [1] and reproach) may be extinct, suppressed, and obscured; but also to the justices of the peace, that they in every place within the precincts of their commission, do make and cause to be made diligent search, wait, and espial, whether the said bishop and clergy do truly and sincerely, without any manner of cloak or dissimulation, execute and accomplish their said charge to them committed in this behalf, and to certify us and our council of such of them that should omit or leave undone any part of the premises, or else in the execution thereof should coldly or faintly use any manner of sinister additions, interpretation, cloak, as is more plainly expressed in our said letters. We, considering the greater zeal and furtherance that you may do in these matters, in the parts about you, and specially at your being at assizes and sessions, in the declaration of the premises, have thought it good, necessary, and expedient, to write these our letters unto you, whom we esteem to be of such singular zeal and affection towards the glory of Almighty God and of so faithful and loving heart towards us, as you will not only, with all your wisdoms, diligence, and labours, accomplish all such things as might be to the preferment and setting

[1] Affront.

forward of God's word, and the amplification, defence, and maintenance of our said interest, right, title, style, jurisdiction, and authority appertaineth unto us, our dignity, prerogative, and crown-imperial of this our realm, will and desire you, and nevertheless straitly charge and command you that, laying apart all vain affections, respects, and carnal considerations, and setting before your eyes the mirror of truth, the glory of God, the right and dignity of your sovereign lord, thus sounding to the inestimable virtue and commodity[1] both of yourself and all other your loving and faithful subjects, you do not only make diligence within the precincts of your commission and authority, whether the said bishops and clergy do truly and sincerely, as before, preach, teach, and declare to the people, the premises according to their duties, but also at your so sitting at assizes and sessions you do persuade, show, and declare unto the same people the very tenour, effect, and purport of the premises, in such wise as the said bishops and the clergy may the better do thereby and execute their said duties; but that also the parents and rulers of families may declare, teach, and inform their children and servants in the spritualities of the same, to the utter extirpation of the said bishop's usurped authority, name, and jurisdiction, for ever; showing and declaring also to the people at your said sessions the treasons traitorously committed against us and our laws by the late bishop of Rochester and Sir Thomas More, knight,[2] who thereby and by divers

[1] Advantage.

[2] The executions of More and Fisher had taken place the preceding year on Tower Hill. According to Stowe, p. 1004, they were both of them

secret practices of their malicious minds against us, intended to disseminate, engender, and breed amongst our people and subjects a most mischievous and seditious opinion, not only to their own confusion, but also of sundry others, who lately have condignly suffered execution according to their demerits. And in such wise delating the same with persuasions to the same our people, as they may be the better fixed, established, and satisfied in the truth; and consequently, that all our faithful and true subjects may thereby detest and abhor in their hearts and deeds the most recreant and traitorous abuses of the said malicious malefactors as they be most worthy; and finding any default, negligence, or dissimulation in any manner of person, or persons, not doing his duty in this part, you immediately do advertise our council of the default, manner, and fashion of the same; letting you wit that, considering the great moment, weight, and importance of this matter, as whereupon the unity, rest, and quietness of this our realm,[1] if you should, contrary to your duties and our expectation and trust, neglect, be slack, or omit to do diligently your duties, in the per-

buried in the Tower. These executions struck terror into the minds of the people, and they certainly in some respects appear to have had the effect desired by Henry. Fisher suffered in June, and More in July, 1534. Hall says, "Also, the 22nd day of the same month, John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was beheaded, and his head set upon London Bridge. This bishop was of very many men lamented, for he was reported to be a man of great learning, and a man of very good life, but therein wonderfully deceived, for he maintained the Pope to be supreme head of the Church, and *very maliciously* refused the king's title of Supreme Head."

[1] The word "resteth" appears here omitted.

formance and execution of our mind, pleasure, and commandment as before, or would halt or stumble at any part or speciality of the same, be ye assured that we, like a prince of justice, will so punish and correct the default and negligence therein, as it shall be an example to all others, how, contrary to their allegiance, oaths, and duties, they do frustrate, deceive, and disobey the just and lawful commandment of their sovereign lord in such things, as by the true, hearty, and faithful execution whereof, they shall not only prefer the honour and glory of God, and set forth the majesty and imperial dignity of their sovereign lord; but also impart and bring an inestimable unity, concord, and tranquillity of the public and common state of this realm; whereunto both by the laws of God, and nature, and man, they be utterly obliged and bounden: and therefore, fail ye not, most effectually, earnestly, and entirely, to see the premises done and executed, upon pain of your allegiance, and as you will avoid our high indignation and displeasure at your uttermost perils.

Given under our signet, at our manor beside Westminster, the 25th day of June, 1535.

Henry VIII. to Mrs. Coward, widow, of Southampton. [1]

Dear and well-beloved,

We greet you well, letting you know our trusty and well-beloved servant, William Symonds, one

[1] MSS. in the College of Arms. It was not unusual in former times for sovereigns to recommend their adherents to the favourable notice of

of the servers of our chamber, hath showed unto us that for the womanly disposition, good and virtuous behaviour, and other commendable virtues, which he hath not only heard reported, but also seen and perceived in you himself, at his last being in those parts, he hath set his heart and mind that he is very desirous to honour you by way of marriage before all other creatures living; and for the admonishment of this his good and laudable purpose he hath made humble suit unto us to write unto you, and others your loving friends, in his favour. We considering our said servant's commendable requests, his honest conversation, and other manifest virtues, with also the true and faithful service heretofore many sundry ways done unto us, as well in our wars as otherwise, and that he daily doth about our person, for our singular contentation and pleasure; for the which we assure you we do tender his provision accordingly well, and desire you, at the contemplation of these our letters, to be of like benevolent mind towards our said servant, in such wise that matrimony, to God's pleasure, may shortly be solemnized between you both; whereby, in our opinion, you shall not only do the thing to the singular comfort of you both

the softer sex. There are also, in the College of Arms, a letter from the king to Sir John Daventry, thanking him for interfering to procure the consent of "Mrs. Coward, widow, of Southampton," to marry Symonds; another, without signature or address, on the same matter; and a third to Mrs. Coward, from one who styles himself "fellow of the said Symonds." Allen, in a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated 1517, says, "Sir William Compton showed unto me that my lord cardinal wrote unto Mrs. Vernon, if she would attain the king's favour, to bear her good mind to his servant Tyrwhitt."

in time to come, but by your so doing, you may assure you, in all the causes reasonable of you or any of your friends, to be pursued unto us by our servant hereafter, you shall have us a good and gracious lord to you both. And to the intent that you shall give unto this our desire the more faithful credence, we do send you here inclosed a token, praying you to intender [1] the matter accordingly.

The King's letter to the Commons of Ireland.[2] *A.D.* 1535.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Letting you wit that, forasmuch as we have been advertised that, whereas a certain motion was made unto you in the last session of our high court of parliament there for a benevolence [3] to be granted unto us by you our subjects of our layfee within that our realm of Ireland, you made a certain argument and stay therein. Albeit we doubt not but you do all consider what importable charges we have been at lately for your defences, and that you would yourselves, though none instance were made unto you for the same, devise as well how presently to gratify us with some recompense, as to condescend to such an augmentation of our revenues there as might be able to

[1] Understand. Fr. *entendre.*

[2] Lambeth Palace MSS., No. 611, f. 27.

[3] In the same manuscript volume is a letter from the king returning thanks for the benevolence, which was afterwards granted. In the course of it he writes,—"Like as for your conformity therein, we give unto you this our right hearty thanks, assuring you that we shall never put the same in oblivion."

defend you from the violence of all traitors and rebels, and to preserve you in good peace, civility, and quietness. Yet, to the intent you should not only know, that it shall be much to our contentation, if you shall lovingly grow to some resolute point in the grant of the said benevolence, that we shall take your proceedings therein most thankfully, and as a perfect argument and demonstration of your entire love and due obedience towards us; but also that we desire not this matter for any notable gain that we covet should thereof ensue to ourself; but for that we have such a zeal to reduce that our land to a perfect conformity, that we would have some convenient furniture of yearly revenues there (as reason is) for the conducing and maintenance of the same. We have thought convenient, by these our letters, only to desire you in this matter so to proceed with us, as we may have cause to think you have the stomachs of faithful subjects towards us your prince and sovereign lord, and like cause with our favour and princely governance towards you to requite the same.

Henry VIII. to Dr. Peter Ligham. [1]

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: and forasmuch that you shall exercise the visitation of my lord of Canterbury in divers parts of his province, by reason whereof you shall have a great appearance [2] of the clergy

[1] MSS. in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, No. 1729, art. 2.
[2] Assembly.

of this realm before you together at once, and shall come into divers abbeys and other collegial and cathedral churches, we will and straitly command you that ye procure the chapter seal of every spiritual incorporation that you shall come unto, and the subscription of every man of that chapter to be put to this writing devised by us and our council, the counterpain [1] whereof subscribed by my lord of Canterbury ye shall herewith receive; and further, that you shall procure the subscription of every priest by you visited to the article concerning the bishop of Rome his authority within this realm; and in case any person or persons will resist or gainsay so to seal or subscribe, that you do call aid of the next justice, sheriff, or other temporal officer thereabout, and cause all persons making such refusal to be kept in ward unto [2] our further pleasure be known therein. And fail you not thus to do with all your wit and diligence, as ye tender our pleasure.

Given under our signet at our manor of Hampton Court, the twenty-fifth day of June.

To our trusty and well-beloved
Doctor Peter Ligham.

Henry VIII. to the Lord Cromwell. [3]

Right trusty and entirely beloved, we greet you well. Advertising you that we having heard what the bishop

[1] Counterpart. [2] Until.

[3] Cotton MS., Vesp. F. xiii., No. 132. The monastery of Syon had recently been visited by Cromwell's commissioners, and most of the authorities of the house professed themselves favourable to the king's claims.

of Winchester hath done in the house of Sion, although he would so set the same forth unto us, as we might have occasion to think he hath done truly as becometh him towards us; yet having this forenoon spoken with Morris the receiver there, we may well perceive him to have ostented and boasted him to us to have done more than indeed he hath, and a coloured doubleness[1] either to be in him, or in Morris, or both; Morris not answering directly to divers interrogatories by us to him ministered. We having therefore showed him that, intending to try his truth to us, will not go about to grope[2] him, but will see if, according to his duty, he will of his own mind confess the mere truth; we already knowing much more than he weeneth.[3]

Wherefore, we require you, upon his repair unto you, studiously to examine him, by whom you shall perceive doubleness in the other, in him, or both. The which being never so craftily handled, I would not were hidden; not doubting it shall, your circumspect manner, desirous and attentive mind in trying out truth known unto us, as it is. Thus fare ye well!

From our manor at Greenwich, the 26th day of..... the twenty-seventh year of our reign.

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[1] Duplicity. [2] To elicit the truth by coaxing or flattery.

[3] Thinketh.

[4] This letter is endorsed—"To our right trusty and entirely beloved councillor, Thomas Cromwell, our chief secretary." This great man, the son of Walter Cromwell, a blacksmith, at Putney, was discovered in France by Wolsey, who took him into his service, and at length ap-

Henry VIII. to Lady Bedingfield. [1]

January 10th, 1536.

Right dear and well-beloved, we greet you well. And forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God to call unto his mercy out of this transitory life the right excellent princess, our dearest sister, the lady Katharine, relict of our natural brother prince Arthur, of famous memory, deceased, and that we intend to have her body interred according to her honour and estate. At the interment whereof, (and for other ceremonies to be done at her funeral, and in conveyance of her corpse from Kimbolton, where it now remaineth, to Peterborough, where the same shall be buried,) it is requisite to have the presence of a good many ladies of honour. You shall understand that we have appointed you to be there one of the principal mourners; and therefore desire and pray you to put yourself in readiness to be in anywise at Kimbolton aforesaid, the 25th day of this month, and so to attend upon the said corpse till the same shall be buried, and the ceremonies to be thereat done be finished. Letting you further wit that for the mourning apparel of your own person we send you by this bearer —— yards of black cloth, for two gentlewomen to wait upon you, and

pointed him secretary to his embassy there. He was the cardinal's political legacy to Henry, who made him a principal instrument in the Reformation, investing him with the most extensive powers in ecclesiastical affairs.—*Lodge's Illustrations*, vol. i. p. 39.

[1] Original in the possession of Sir Henry Bedingfield. Lady Bedingfield, to whom this note is addressed, was daughter of Lord Marny, and wife of Sir Edmund Bedingfield.

for two gentlemen, and for eight yeomen; all which apparel[1] ye must cause to be made up as shall appertain. And concerning the habiliment of linen for your head and face, we shall, before the day limited, send the same to you accordingly.

Given under our signet, at our manor of Greenwich, the 10th day of January.

Henry VIII. to Jane Seymour.[2]

My dear friend and mistress,

The bearer of these few lines from thy entirely devoted servant will deliver into thy fair hands a token of my true affection for thee, hoping you will keep it for ever in your sincere love for me. Advertising you that there is a ballad made lately of great derision against us, which if it go much abroad and is seen by you, I pray you to pay no manner of regard to it. I am not at present informed who is the setter forth of this malignant writing, but if he is found out he shall be straitly punished for it. For the things ye lacked I have minded my lord to supply them to you as soon as he can buy them. Thus hoping shortly to receive you in these arms, I end for the present your own loving servant and sovereign, H. R.

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[1] Spaces are left in each instance for the number of yards of cloth required.

[2] Modern transcript from the Gough MSS. The depository of the original document is not stated, but I know of no other reason for doubting its authenticity. A very curious letter from Jane Seymour to the king (in Latin!) is still in existence. The note given above was probably written in the spring of the year 1536, shortly before Henry's marriage with Jane Seymour.

Henry VIII. to some Justice of Peace.[1]

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas we understand by certain report the late evil and seditious rising in our ancient city of York, at the acting of a religious interlude of St. Thomas the Apostle, made in the said city on the 23rd of August now last past; and whereas we have been credibly informed that the said rising was owing to the seditious conduct of certain papists who took a part in preparing for the said interlude, we will and require you that from henceforward ye do your utmost to prevent and hinder any such commotion in future, and for this ye have my warrant for apprehending and putting in prison any papists who shall, in performing interludes which are founded on any portions of the Old or New Testament, say or make use of any language which may tend to excite those who are beholding the same to any breach of the peace.

Given, &c.

Henry VIII. to some of the Bishops.[2]

November 20th, 1536.

Right reverend father-in-God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas, upon the

[1] MS. Collection of York Documents, Rawlinson's Collection in the Bodleian Library. This is here translated from the Latin; and, although without date, it is extremely curious and interesting, as it clearly shows that the monks made their miracle-plays a vehicle for spreading particular religious and political opinions. An early play on the subject of St. Thomas is still preserved.

[2] Harleian MSS. No. 283, art. 64. This document will be read with great interest by all who have paid attention to the history of the reformed church.

good opinion which of your virtue, learning, and good qualities, we had heretofore conceived that you purely and plainly set forth the word of God, and instructed our people in the truth of the same, in a simple and plain sort, for their better instructions, unity, quiet, and agreement in the points thereof, we advanced you to the room and office of a bishop within this our realm, and so endowed you with great revenues and possessions; perceiving after that, by the contrariety of preaching within this our realm, our said people were brought into a diversity of opinions, whereby there ensued contention amongst them, which was only engendered by a certain contemptuous manner of speaking against honest, laudable, and tolerable ceremonies, usages, and customs of the church. We were enforced, by our sundry letters, to admonish and command you specially amongst other to preach God's word sincerely, to declare abuses plainly, and in no wise contentiously to treat of matters indifferent, which be neither necessary to our salvation, as the good and virtuous ceremonies of holy church, nor yet in any wise contemned and abrogate; for that they are incitaments and motions to virtue and allurements to devotion. All which our travail, notwithstanding, so little regard ye took to our advertisements therein, that we were constrained to put our own pen to the book, and to write certain articles, which were by all you the bishops and whole clergy of this our realm in convocation agreed on as catholic, meet, and necessary to be, by our authority, for avoiding of all contention, set forth and taught to our subjects, to bring the same in unity, quiet-

ness, and good concord; supposing, then, that no personage having authority under us (as you have) would either have presumed to have spoken any words that might have offended the sentence and meaning of the same, or have been anything remiss, slack, or negligent, in the plain setting-forth of them, as they be conceived; so as, by that mean, the fruit of quiet and unity should not grow thereupon as we desired and looked for of the same. And, perceiving eftsoons[1] by credible report, that our labours, travail, and desire therein is nevertheless defeated, and in a manner by general and contemptuous words contemned and despised; so that, by the abstinence of direct and plain setting-forth of the said articles, and by the fond and contentious manner of speaking, that you and some others of your sort do still use against the honest rites, customs, usages, and ceremonial things of the church, our people be much more offended than they were before, and in a manner exclaim that we will suffer that injury at your hands; whereby they think both God, us, and our whole realm highly offended, insomuch as, principally upon that ground and for the reformation of your abuses therein, they have made this commotion and insurrection, whereby they have offended us, damaged themselves, and troubled many of our good subjects.

We be now enforced, for our discharge towards God and for the tender love and zeal we bear to the tranquillity and loving unity of our said people and subjects, again to address these our letters unto you as a per-

[1] Immediately.

emptory warning, to advise you to demean and use yourself, as shall be hereafter declared, upon pain of deprivation from your bishoprick; and, further, to be punished for your contempt, if you shall offend in the contrary, as justice shall require, for your own trespass and as may show for the example of others.

And, first, we specially charge and command you, that plainly and distinctly, without any additions, you shall, every holiday, wheresoever you shall be within your diocese when you may serve with your health, openly in your cathedral, church, or the parish-church, if that place be where you fortune to be, read and declare our said articles, and, in no wise, in the rest of your words which you shall then speak of yourself, (if you speak anything) utter any words that shall make the same or any word in the same doubtful to the people. Secondly, we will and command you that you shall in your person travel from place to place in all your diocese, as you may with your commodity, and endeavour yourself every holyday to make a collation to the people, and in the same to set forth plainly those texts of Scripture that you shall treat of, and with the same also as well to declare the obedience due by God's laws to their prince and sovereign lord, against whose commandment they ought in no wise, though the same were unjust, to use any violence; as to commend and praise all the honest ceremonies of the church, as they be to be praised, in such plain and reverent sort, that the people may perceive that they be not contemned, and yet learn how they were instituted, and how they ought to be observed and

esteemed; using such a temperance therein as our said people be not corrupted by putting over-much affiance in them, which should more offend than the clear silencing of the same; and that our people may therewith the better know their duties to us being their king and sovereign lord.

Third, we straitly charge and command you, that neither in your private convocations you shall use any words that may sound to the contrary of this our commandment, nor that you shall keep or retain any man of any degree, that shall in his words privately or apertly, directly or indirectly, speak in those matters of the ceremonies contentiously or contemptuously. But we will that, in case you have or shall have any such person that will not temper his tongue, you shall, as an offender and seductor of our people, send the same in sure custody to us and our council, to be punished, as shall appertain; and semblably to do with other strangers, whom we shall hear to be offenders in that part.

Fourthly, our pleasure and commandment is, that you shall on our behalf give strait commandment, upon like pain of deprivation and further punishment to all persons, vicars, curates, and governors of religious houses, colleges, and other places ecclesiastical within your diocese, that they and every of them shall, touching the indifferent praise of ceremonies, the avoiding of contentions, and contemptuous communications concerning any of the same, and the distinct and plain reading of our articles, observe and perform in their churches, monasteries, and other houses ecclesiastical aforesaid, the very same order

that is before to you prescribed. And, further, that you permit nor suffer any man, of what degree soever he be in learning, stranger or other, to preach, in any place within your said diocese, out of his own church by virtue of any license by us or any other of our ministers granted before the 20th day of this month, neither in your presence nor elsewhere, unless he be a man of such honest learning and judgment as you shall think able for that purpose, and one whom, in a manner, you dare answer for.

Finally, whereas we be advertised that divers priests have presumed to marry themselves, contrary to the custom of our Church of England, our pleasure is you shall make secret inquiry within your diocese whether there be any such restraint within the same or no; and, in case you shall find that there be any priests that have so presumed to marry themselves, and have since used and exercised in anything the office of priesthood, we charge you, as you will answer upon pains aforesaid, to cause them to be apprehended, and to send them up unto us accordingly.

Given under our signet at our castle at Windsor, the 20th day of November, in the 28th year of our reign.

Henry VIII. to Lord Mordaunt.[1]

Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And, forasmuch as we be informed that the pestilent idol, enemy of all truth, and usurpator of princes, the

[1] Mordaunt Family Papers. This and the following letter are interesting documents, exhibiting in a curious manner Henry's violence of language in speaking of the Roman Catholic church.

bishop of Rome, perceiving his most detestable doings to begin now to appear to all our subjects, which fully minded, in his rage, to seek all the ways to him possible to rob and spoil this our realm, as heretofore he hath been accustomed; and to invert the good religion of the same, with the torment and disherison of all our good subjects; we let you wit that, intending to put the same our realm both by sea and land in such arreadiness as shall be necessary towards his malicious and devilish purpose; which by all the means he laboureth to cloak and colour, pretending (only in words) the advancement of true religion, without any the disturbance of our people; to the intent he may blind their honest and simple eyes, and so the more easily compass his most cruel and devilish enterprise: we have, among other our loving subjects, appointed you to furnish unto us, to do us service on the sea, the number of forty able persons.

And therefore, we will and desire you that, immediately upon sight hereof, ye will furnish us the said number, whereof as many of them to be archers and gunners as you can make, well harnessed to do us service, as before; and the same to be in arreadiness with habiliments meet for them, upon one hour's warning, whensoever our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and councillor, the earl of Southampton, our admiral of England, shall by his letters give you admonition to call for the same; and, in the mean time, with all diligence to make unto him your certificate of the same your number: whereby you shall deserve our hearty thanks.

Given, &c., the 7th day of April.

Henry VIII. to Lord Mordaunt.[1]

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And, whereas it has come to our knowledge, that sundry persons, as well religious as secular priests, and curates in their parishes, and other places of this our realm, do daily as much as in them is set forth and extol the jurisdiction and authority of the bishop of Rome, otherwise called the pope, sowing their seditious false doctrine, and pestilent deceits with relics,[2] praying for him in the pulpit,

[1] Mordaunt Family Papers.

[2] Among the numerous tricks and deceptions of the monks, may be instanced the following, related by a contemporary foreigner:—"Having made a cross of silver, and the incarnate God Jesus nailed to it, of large size, and having marked the time in which the cross had been made, that is, having engraved on it that it had been made a thousand years before, they concealed it in some cave, situate in a certain woody glen fit for their purpose. And from some artificial fire having prepared a light, they put it in a glass vessel, so that it presented to those not in the secret the appearance of a supernatural fire; and having placed this in front of the cross, they withdrew, having artfully closed up the mouth of the cave, that they might not incur suspicion from any one. And after a few days, they spread a report over the whole island, that there had been revealed to a certain old man of their own order, celebrated for the strictness of his ascetic discipline, and living in solitude, some salutary treasure, a charm for dispelling the infirmities of soul and body. But the spot pointed out by a divine messenger to the wondrous old man was [represented] as solitary and difficult of access. It was, therefore, requisite with prayer and supplication to proceed and perform there the hallowed rites; then, perhaps, also they would thus obtain the object of their wishes. When these things had been noised abroad, and great numbers were superstitiously intent on such things, they went to the chiefs of the Franciscan order, entreating them to point out to them the treasure revealed by God. And these, indeed, pretending to be ignorant, and setting little store by themselves, calling themselves unworthy, and not meet to receive so great a favour, spake with dissimulation. But the others desisted not; but with lamentations and tears persevered in

and making of him a god, to the great deceit, illuding, and seducing of our people and subjects, bringing them into error, sedition, and evil opinions; more preferring the said laws, jurisdiction, and authority of the said bishop of Rome, than the most holy laws and precepts of Almighty God: we, therefore, minding not only to provide an unity and quietness to be had and continued amongst our people and subjects, but also greatly coveting and desiring them to be brought to a perfection and knowledge of the mere verity and truth, and no longer to be seduced nor blinded with any such superstitious and false doctrine of an earthly usurper of God's law: we

their importunity, until at last they moved them to compassion. And having taken the old man, with the greatest reverence and devotion, singing psalms, and forming themselves in a procession two by two, they followed the old man. And a multitude of men, of all ages, not only of the rabble, but now also of persons in authority, and of some of the senate, followed these; and with deep contrition each prayed. And having then at length come to the place, and reverently performed initiatory rites, the wondrous old man, having taken a spade, with tears commenced to delve. And having ordered the others also to do this, they took part in the labour. Having descended then as much as an ell, a sudden light broke forth. And feigning that their eyes were dazzled, they remained speechless. And whereas others did not venture to approach, the old man exhorted these. But some of the bolder sort having drawn near, began to shout and to chant: 'We praise thee, O God!' and so forth. But when they brought up the cross from the recesses of the earth, and they beheld the miraculous fire, there was no one but went away wondering, and with pious veneration glorified God. Thence, too, was mingled noise of persons lamenting, shouting, lauding, rejoicing, and of some saying that Divine grace had visited them, and performing other things, to which a multitude full of superstition is readily excited. And now having somewhat late in the evening retired to their own monastery, they set up the cross in a conspicuous place, previously held in veneration. And what followed? Pious pilgrimages of numberless persons to the cross; confessions of sins, both of men and women."

will, therefore, and command you, that where and whensoever you shall find, apperceive,[1] know, and hear tell of any such seditious persons, that do spread, teach, preach, and set forth any such pernicious doctrine, to the exaltation of the bishop of Rome; bringing thereby our people into error, grudge,[2] and murmuration, that ye, without delay, do apprehend and take them, or cause them to be apprehended and taken; and so committed to ward, there to remain without bail or main-prise, until, upon your advertisement thereof to us or our council, ye shall receive answer of our further pleasure in that behalf.

Given under our signet, at our manor of Greenwich, the 10th of April.

Henry VIII. to the Bishop of Durham.[3]

Since me thought, my lord of Durham, that both the bishops of York, Winchester, and your reasons and texts were so fully answered this other day in our house, as to my seeming and supposal the most of the house was satisfied, I marvel not a little, why eftsoones you have sent to me this now your writing, being in a manner few other texts or reasons than there were declared both by the bishop of Canterbury and me, to make smally[4] or nothing to your intended purpose. But, either I esteem that you do it to prove my simple judgment alone, which indeed doth not much use (though not the wiseliest) to

[1] Ascertain.
[2] Dissatisfaction.
[3] Cotton. MSS. Titus, B. i., Art. 40.
[4] Little.

call in aid the judgments of other learned men, and so by mine ignorant answer seem to win the field; or else, that you be too much blinded in your own fantasy and judgment, to think that a truth, which by learning you have not yet proved, nor (I fear me) cannot by Scripture nor any other direct and probable ground.

Though I know mine insufficiency in learning, if the matter were indifferent, and that the balance stood equal; since I take the verity of the cause rather to favour the part I take than yours, it giveth me, therefore, great boldness, not presuming in learning, but in justness of the cause, seeing by writing you have provoked me to it, to make answer to your arguments. Therefore, I, beginning now to reply to your first allegation, shall assay to prove (if I can) that your own author, in place by you alleged, maketh plain against your own opinion. For, as you allege him, St. Chrysostom saith, *Quod sufficit pudor solus pro pœna*,[1] then *auricularis confessio* is not by commandment necessary. For if it were, this word *solus* is by your author ill set; therefore, your author in this place furthereth you but little. To your fallax argument, I deny your consequent, founded only upon small reason, which is the ground of your fallax argument: which reason I need not to take away; for, your alleged author doth show too plainly in his homilies, that you gather a wrong sense upon his words; for he saith (with much more touching this matter) these few words, *non hominibus peccata tua detegere cogo*:[2] then his

[1] That shame alone (for our sins) is sufficient as a punishment.

[2] I do not force you to uncover your sins to men.

other text, afore rehearsed, is not to be understood as you would wring it.

Further, methinketh, I need not (God thank you) too greatly study for authors, to conclude your wrong taking of texts; for those yourself allege, serveth me well to purpose; for all your labour is to prove that auricular confession were by God commanded, and both your authorities of Bede and Pole showeth nothing, but that they did confess their sins, and yet they do not affirm that it was by commandment; wherefore they make for my argument, and not for yours. Your other texts of John, 21, and Matthew, 19, were so thoroughly answered this other day, and so manifestly declared not to appertain to our grounded argument, that I marvel you be not ashamed eftsoons to put them in writing, and to found your argument now so fondly on them; for what fonder argument can be made to prove thereby a necessity of confession, than to say, "if you confess not, I cannot forgive?" Would a thief, which committed felony, think himself obliged by the law to disclose his felony, if the law say no more, but "if thou confess not, I cannot forgive thee;" or, would he trust the sooner, therefore, to be forgiven? This is matter so apparent, that none can but perceive it, except he will not see.

As touching Origen's places by you alleged, as the first in Leviticum showeth, that we be as much bound *lavare stratum lachrymis*, as *dicere sacerdote*;[1] which no man, I think, will affirm that we be bound to do; and yet he affirmeth not that any of them is commanded.

[1] To wash the couch with tears, as to tell (our sins) to the priest.

The text, also, whereby he would approve his so saying, doth not yet speak, *Quod pronunciabo injustitiam meam sacerdoti*, but *Domino*.[1] The other (of James) seemeth better to make for extreme unction than for confession; for when was ever the use that folk, coming only to confession, were wont to be anointed with oil? Therefore these make nothing to your argument. As touching Origen, in Psalm 37, he saith not *Quod obligamur dicere sacerdoti*, but *si confiteatur;* and seemeth rather to persuade men that they should not *parvi pendere confessionem*[2] (as all good folk would), than that they were obliged to confess them to the priest.

Though Cyprian *(De Lapsis)* doth praise them which doth confess their faults to priests, yet doth he confess that we be not bound to do so. For he sayeth, in the highest of his praise, these words—"How much be they then higher in faith, and better in fear of God, which (though they be not bound by any deed of sacrifice or book) yet be they content sorrowfully to confess them to the priest?" Since he knowledgeth no bond in us by neither fact of sacrifice or libel; why allege you, though auricular confession, that we should be bound by God's law thereto? This is no proof thereof, neither by reason, nor yet by Scripture, or any good authority.

And, whereas he saith further, *Confiteantur singuli, quæso vos, fratres, delictum suum*.[3] This does not argue a precept, nor yet the saying of Esaiah, cap. 43, *secundum*

[1] I will not declare my unrighteousness to the priest but to the Lord.

[2] Set little value on confession.

[3] Let each confess, I pray you, brethren, his own fault.

septuaginta; nor Solomon, in the Proverbiorum, 18; for these texts speak rather after David the prophet, saying and teaching of knowledging our offence to God in our heart, than of auricular confession; when he hath, *tibi soli peccavi;* that was not to a priest. By the text also, which you allege, beginning, *Circa personas vero ministrorum*, &c., you do only confess that the church hath not accepted auricular confession to be by God's commandment; or else, by your saying and allegation they have long erred. For, you confess, that the church hath divers times changed both to whom confession should be made, and times when, and that also they have changed divers ways for divers regions. If it were by God's commandment, they might not do this.

Wherefore, my lord, since I hear none other allegations, I pray you, blame not me though I be not of your opinion; and of the both, I have the more cause to think you obstinate, than you me, seeing your authors and allegations maketh so little to your purpose.

And thus, fare you well!

Henry VIII. to Sir Thomas Wyat.[1]

22nd January, 1538.

Trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well, letting you wit that since the despatch of our last post unto you, by whom we signified our mind and purpose upon the relation of our trusty and well-beloved servant, Sir John

[1] Harleian MS. 282. Sir Thomas Wyat was at this time Henry's ambassador in Spain.

Dudley, knight, made unto us at his return out of those parts, we have with more deliberation revolved and digested the right hearty, gentle, and friendly behaviour of our good brother, the emperor, in the entertainment of the said Sir John Dudley, and in such discourse as you twain had with the same, and with his council, touching such points as whereof we wrote in our last letters unto you. For the which we desire and pray you, as occasion shall serve, earnestly to thank our said brother, assuring him that he shall find us of semblable sort again towards him, and specially you shall desire him in our behalf to perform his promise touching the joining of us in this league between him and France, as a principal contrahent;[1] and likewise of his promise touching their counsel; but in anywise you shall so solicit that matter of the comprehension, for so much as may concern the observation of all leagues, parts, and treaties between him, us, and France, as it be in no wise pretermitted. And forasmuch as we have conceived that he doth bear unto us a most hearty and sincere affection, we have not only much suppressed all remembrance of such old things as have interrupted of late days our amity, but also the same hath revived in us such a love again towards him, that we should be right glad to embrace an occasion to express and declare the same. Whereupon, devising with ourself, it came to our remembrance, that, being now the purposed marriage between the duchess of Milan, and the son of the Duke of Cleve, and Juliers stayed, it might percase come to pass

[1] Contracting party.

that we might honour the said duchess by marriage, her virtue, qualities, and behaviour, being reported to be such as is worthy to be much advanced. And to the intent there might be an occasion thereof ministered unto us, we have thought good to signify unto you that our pleasure is, that concerning as opportunity shall serve, you, with the emperor himself, or with Monsieur Graundebile or Monsieur Cobns, you shall not only of yourself seem to commend and rejoice in our good affection towards the emperor, but also you shall likewise, as it proceeded of your own head, wish that we might join in marriage, and so advise them to set forth some overture of the said duchess of Milan for that purpose, to the intent we may have that occasion, thereby ministered, that may give us commodity to enter further into contraction of the same, which matters we desire and pray you to handle with no less dexterity than diligence, that we may with speed hear from you what is to be looked for touching the same.

Given under our signet at our palace of Westminster, the 22nd of January, and the 29th year of our reign. [1538.]

An Epistle of the Most Mighty and Redoubted Prince Henry VIII. by the Grace of God, King of England, &c. next under Christ, written to the Emperor's Majesty, to all Christian Princes, and to all those that truly and sincerely profess Christs' religion.[1]

Henry VIII. by the Grace of God, King of England, and of France, &c., saluteth the emperor, Christian

[1] As the following piece is one if not the very first declaration of Henry VIII. against the Pope now extant, I apprehend it will be doing

princes, and all true Christian men, desiring peace and concord amongst them.

Whereas not long since a book came forth in our and all our Council's names, which hath contained many causes why we refused the Council, then by the Bishop of Rome's usurped power first indicted at Mantua, to be kept the 23rd day of May, after prorogued to November, no place appointed where it should be kept. And whereas the same book doth sufficiently prove that our cause could take no hurt, neither by anything done or decreed in such a Company of men, addict to one sect, nor in any other council, called by his usurped power, we think it nothing necessary so oft to make new protestations, as the Bishop of Rome, and his courts, by subtlety and craft, do invent ways to mock the world by

great service to English history, to preserve it in this selection. It may be necessary to premise the occasion of this letter, which was as follows: —

The king had been cited by the pope, in concert with the emperor, to appear before a general Council to be held at Mantua, to answer certain accusations to be there laid against him. The king communicated this summons to the convocation then sitting, and demanded their advice. They answered in writing, that before a general Council could be called, it was necessary to consider who had authority to call it. Secondly, whether the reasons for calling it were weighty? Thirdly, who should assist as judges? Fourthly, what should be the order of proceeding? Fifthly, what doctrines were to be discussed? And lastly, that neither the pope, nor any other prince, without the consent of all the sovereigns in Christendom, had power to call a general Council.

Henry, well knowing he must lose his cause before such a Council, had been unwise to submit to its decisions: therefore, pursuant to this declaration of his clergy, he protested against this Council, in which protestation he speaks very plainly and freely of the designs and conduct of the pope. Being informed of the said Council being removed to Vicenza, he repeats the protestation to the emperor in the following letter.—*Note in Harleian Miscellany.*

new pretended general Councils. Yet, notwithstanding, because that some things have now occurred, either upon occasion given us by change of the place, or else through other considerations, which, now being known to the world, may do much good; we thought we should do, but even as that love enforceth us, which we owe unto Christ's faith and religion, to add this epistle. And yet we protest we neither put forth that book, neither that we would this epistle to be set afore it, that thereby we should seem less to desire a general Council than any prince or potentate, but rather more desirous of it, so it were free for all parties, and universal.

And further, we desire all good princes, potentates, and people, to esteem and think that no prince would more willingly be present at such a council than we; such a one, we mean, as we speak of in our protestation concerning the council of Mantua. Truly, as our forefathers invented nothing more holier than general councils, used as they ought to be, so there is almost nothing that may do more hurt to the Christian commonwealth, to the faith, to our religion, than general councils, if they be abused to lucre, to gains, to the establishment of errors. They be called *general*, and even by their name do admonish us, that all Christian men which do dissent in any opinion, may in them openly, frankly, and without fear of punishment or displeasure, say their mind; for seeing such things as are decreed in general councils touch equally all men that give assent thereunto, it is meet that every man may boldly say there what he thinketh. And verily we suppose that it ought not to

be called a *general* council, where only those men are heard which are determined for ever, in all points, to defend the Popish party, and to arm themselves to fight in the bishop of Rome's quarrel, though it were against God and his scriptures. It is no general council, neither ought it to be called *general*, where the same men be only advocates and adversaries, the same accused and judges. No: it is against the law of nature, either that we should condescend to so unreasonable a law against ourselves, or that we should suffer ourselves to be left without all defence; and, being oppressed with greatest injuries, to have no refuge to succour ourselves at.

The bishop of Rome, and his, be our greatest enemies,[1] as we, and all the world, may well perceive by his doings. He desireth nothing more than our hurt, and the destruction of our realm. Do we not then violate the judgment of nature, if we give him power and authority to be our judge? His pretended honour, first gotten by superstition, after increased by violence, and other ways as evil as that; his power set up by pretence of religion; in deed both against religion, and also contrary to the word of God; his primacy borne by the ignorance of the world, nourished by the ambition of bishops of Rome, defended by places of Scripture falsely understood.

These three things, we say, which are fallen with us, and which are likely to fall in other realms shortly, shall

[1] The pope published a bull of excommunication against Henry, and tried to excite all-Christian princes against him, offering his kingdom to the king of Scotland, &c.

they not be established again, if he may decide our cause as him listeth? If he may at his pleasure oppress a cause most righteous, and set up his most against the truth? Certainly, he is very blind that seeth not what end we may look for of our controversy, if such our enemy may give the sentence.

We desire, if it were in any wise possible, a council where some hope may be that those things shall be restored: which, now being deprivate, are like, if they be not amended, to be the utter ruin of Christian religion. And as we do desire such a council, and think it meet that all men, in all their prayers, should crave and desire it of God; even so, we think it pertaineth unto our office to provide both that these Popish subtleties hurt none of our subjects, and also to admonish other Christian princes, that the bishop of Rome may not, by their consent, abuse the authority of kings; either to the extinguishing of the true preaching of Scripture, that now beginneth to spring, to grow, and spread abroad; or to the troubling of princes' liberties, to the diminishing of kings' authorities, and to the great blemish of their princely majesty.

We doubt not but a reader, not partial, will soon approve such things as we write in the treatise following; not so much for our excuse, as that the world may perceive both the sundry deceits, crafts, and subtleties of the Papists, and also how much we desire that controversies in religion may once be taken away. All that we said there of Mantua may here well be spoken of Vincenza. They do almost agree in all points; nei-

ther is it like that there will be any more at this council of Vincenza, than were the last year at Mantua. Truly he is worthy to be deceived, that being twice mocked, will not beware the third time. If any this last year made forth toward Mantua, and, being half on their way, then perceived that they had taken upon them that journey in vain, we do not think them so foolish that they will hereafter ride far out of town to be mocked. The time also, and the state of things, is such, that matters of religion may now rather be brought farther in trouble (as other things are), than be commodiously entreated of and decided.

For whereas in manner the whole world is after such sort troubled with wars, so incumbered with the great preparations that the Turk maketh; can there be any man so against the settling of religion, that he will think this time meet for a general council? Undoubtedly it is meet, that such controversies as we have with the bishop of Rome be taken as they are; that is, much greater than that they may either be discussed in this so troublesome a time, or else be committed unto proctors, without our great jeopardy, albeit the time were never so quiet.

What other princes will do at such a time we cannot tell, but *we* will neither leave our realm at this time, neither will we trust any proctor with our cause, wherein the whole stay and wealth of *our* realm standeth, but rather we will be at the handling thereof ourself; for except both another judge be agreed upon for those matters, and also a place more commodious be provided for

the debating of our causes (albeit all other things were as we would have them), yet may we lawfully refuse to come or send any to his pretended council. We will in no case make him our arbiter, which, not many years past, our cause not heard, gave sentence against us. We will that such doctrines as we, following the Scripture, do profess rightly to be examined, discussed, and to be brought to Scripture, as to the only touchstone of true learning. We will not suffer them to be abolished, ere ever they be discussed, nor to be oppressed before they be known: much less will we suffer them to be trodden down, being so clearly true. No: as there is no jot in Scripture but we will defend, though it were with jeopardy of our life and peril of this our realm; so is there no thing that doeth oppress this doctrine or obscure it, but we will be at continual war therewith.

As we have abrogated all old Popish traditions in this our realm, which either did help his tyranny or increase his pride; so, if the grace of God forsake us not, we will well foresee, that no new naughty traditions be made with our consent to bind us, or our realm. If men will not be willingly blind, they shall easily see (even by a due and evident prose in reason, though grace hath not yet by the word of Christ entered into them) how small the authority of the bishop of Rome is, by the lawful denial of the duke of Mantua for the place; for if the bishop of Rome did earnestly intend to keep a council at Mantua, and hath power by the law of God to call princes to what place him liketh, why hath he not also authority to choose what place him listeth? The bishop chose Mantua; the duke kept him out of it. If Paul

the bishop of Rome's authority be so great as he pretendeth, why could he not compel Fredericus, duke of Mantua, that the council be kept there?

The duke would not suffer it. No: he forbade him his town. How chanceth it, that here excommunications fly not abroad? Why doth he not punish this duke? Why is his power, that was wont to be more than full, here empty?—wont to be more than all, here nothing? Doth he not call men in vain to a council, if they that come be excluded the place to which he calleth them? May not kings justly refuse to come at his call, when the duke of Mantua may deny him the place that he chooseth? If other princes order him, as the duke of Mantua hath done, what place shall be left him where he may keep his general council?

Again, if princes have given him his authority to call a council, is it not necessary that they give him also all those things, without the which he cannot exercise that his power? Shall he call men, and will ye let him find no place to call them unto? Truly, he is not wont to appoint one of his own cities, a place to keep the council in. No; the good man is so faithful and friendly toward other, that seldom he desireth princes to be his guests. And, admit he should call us to one of his cities, should we safely walk within the walls of such our enemy's town? Were it meet for us there to discuss controversies of religion, or to keep us out of our enemy's traps?—meet to study for the defence of such doctrine as we profess; or rather how we might, in such a throng of perils, be in safeguard for our life?

Well, upon this one act the Bishop of Rome hath de-

clared that he hath none authority upon places in other men's dominions; and, therefore, if he promise a council in any of those, he promiseth that that is in another man to perform, and so may he deceive us again. Now, if he call us to one of his own towns, we be afraid to be at such a host's table, we say — "Better to rise a-hungred than to go thence with our bellies full." But they say—"The place is found; we need no more seek where the council shall be kept." As who sayeth,[1] that that chanced at Mantua may not also chance at Vicenza; and, as though it were very like that the Venetians, men of such wisdom, should not both foresee and fear also that which the wise Duke of Mantua seemed to fear.

Certes, when we think upon the state that the Venetians be in now, it seemeth no very likely thing that they will either leave Vincenza their city to so many nations, without some great garrison of soldiers; or else that they, being elsewhere so sore charged already, will now nourish an army there. And, if they would, doth not Paul himself grant that it should be an evil precedent and an evil example, to have an armed council? Howsoever it shall be, we most heartily desire that you will vouchsafe to read those things that we wrote this last year, touching the Mantual council. For we nothing doubt but you of your equity will stand on our side against their subtleties and frauds; and judge (except ye be deceived) that we in this business neither gave so much to our affections; neither, without great

[1] A phrase equivalent to, as one may say; as the saying is.

and most just causes, refused their councils, their censures, and decrees.

Whether these our writings please all men or not, we think we ought not to pass[1] much. No; if that which is indifferently written of us may please indifferent readers, our desire is accomplished. The false and mistaking of things by men partial shall move us nothing, or else very little. If we have said aught against the deceits of the Bishop of Rome that may seem spoken too sharply, we pray you impute it to the hatred we bear unto vices, and not to any evil will that we bear him. No; that he and all his may perceive that we are rather at strife with his vices than with him and his, our prayer is both that it may please God at last to open their eyes, to make soft their hard hearts, and that they once may with us (their own glory set apart) study to set forth the everlasting glory of the Everlasting God.

Thus, mighty emperor, fare ye most heartily well; and ye, Christian princes, the pillars and stay of Christendom, fare ye heartily well. Also all ye, what people soever ye are, who do desire that the gospel and glory of Christ may flourish, fare ye heartily well.

Given at London, out of our Palace of Westminster, the eight of April, the nine-and-twenty year of our reign.

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[1] Mind, care, or regard. See Shakspeare, 2 Henry VI. iv. 2.

Henry VIII. to Sir Thomas Wyat.[1]

Trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well. And, as well by your letters sent unto us in cipher by post, as also more expressly by your other letters, dated the second of this present month, and brought by our courier Nicholas, we perceive on that side daily more and more delays, remissness, and such cold proceeding, after the vehemence showed outward in appearance that as, after so hot a summer, we never saw so cold a winter. Whereby it appeareth, like as you have right prudently objected unto them, that they seek friends for their end; and that, thinking themselves escaped their hands, they do but little regard their friends; which is not the true rule to knit a steadfast and certain knot of amity. They do far unlike to the good turns we have showed unto them, not at our need but at theirs. But as for that we let pass, and intend not to reproach it unto them; but rather, in the mean time, to content ourself with the honest virtue of our benefits showed for perfect love and amity; seeing that, between so sundry qualities of him and his two councillors (the mixtion whereof in the end is but a cold frost) we can have no certain answer, but be referred to

[1] Harleian MSS. No. 282. Art. 10. The latter part of this letter contains a curious notice of the attacks made upon the king by the preachers of the time, and of the king's susceptibility in mentioning them as matters that he resented. The dilatoriness of the emperor was a subject of much displeasure to Henry, and he alludes to it in rather strong terms.

two uncertain contingents; the one is declared to yourself by the emperor, to Duke Frederick's advice at his coming into Spain unto the emperor's court; the other contingent, long to come, is, as appeareth by the effect of the emperor's letters lately sent unto the lady regent, by way of instruction, as the chancellor of her court hath declared unto our ambassadors there, that, concerning the alliance between us and the duchess, the said Frederick should, at his return into Flanders from Spain, bring shortly resolution.

Whereupon, what they will do we cannot well guess; but the same nevertheless, for to show ourself firm, constant, and steadfast in a good affection once thoroughly printed in our heart, we will once essay whether they will change their disposition.

And, therefore, forasmuch as one party is in Flanders, and our ambassadors have been there by the space of sixteen weeks, or thereabouts, and the emperor said of his mere mind that he would send instructions, ample and sufficient, unto the Lady Regent of Flanders, and the purpose opened there although to a small purpose, you shall require the emperor for the same. And also because we intend not to treat upon one matter in two places, nor so far distantly from us, it may like him therefore, according to his offer and very promise, to send full instructions, as he hath oftentimes affirmed and affirmed again to have done, where the said lady in deed denieth to have received any such thing; but is ready (as constrained by necessity) to send upon any point purposed, in post to that court. And yet, when any

such returned unto her, the answer is such, that she must as yet tarry for another; and that the said emperor in a matter of such importance unto us as the matter of our marriage, wherein the effect of succession, time, and age be of marvellous high importance; and whereby the nobles and estates of this realm do much press us (as it were of urgent necessity) that we would no longer defer to be at a point with some one or other, they care not greatly where, so that we may have increase of issue. Wheupon you shall eftsoons require him, as he will show himself zealoter of our ancient fraternal amity, that he will, without further protract and dilation[1] of time, observe and fulfil his whole promise in sending these instructions; and that, in case he should not intend to win with us, that then, as it appertaineth to honesty, honour, and the word of a prince according to our amities, he will plainly and frankly declare unto us his mind with a flat refusal and nay; rather than, so knitting one delay to the tail of another, to keep us longer in balance and suspense, and at last give us occasion to say that, whereas upon alliance offered unto us, we have sought increase of amity after long and constant continuance, we have found for conclusion so cold proceeding, as to be ever so unkindly delayed, or else to have a flat nay. Which the emperor's discretion may well think and foresee to be a thing much contrary and unlike to his imperial estate, and to the high degree wherein he is collocate, and to the correspondence of the veray[2] amity that we looked to find in him.

[1] Extension. [2] True.

And, in case in any conference, there shall be any motion made unto you, concerning assistance to the recovery of Cheldres, you shall give no ear thereto; but answer that you have no instruction of us in that matter, and allege that it were too much to be desired of, or moved unto us, and that you referred the same to the conferences to be had in Flanders; for we intend not to treat in two places, nor so far from us, as is before said.

As touching Camerin, upon occasion whereof you much harp, "we have and should take opportunity to do things," you shall understand, that we have and do know our right occasion and take your advertisement therein in good and thankful part; signifying unto you that, by the advice of our counsel in the same and other things, we shall not neglect nor pass over any opportune occasion, finding good towardness in the parties and forwardness in the matter. Wherefore you shall declare unto his secretary there that, upon your advertisement, you perceive such good inclination in us towards that family, and that we know so well the bishop of Rome's ambition and cruelty, where he may obtain the upper hand upon the princes of Christendom, whose powers he ever practiseth to usurpate, and that, seeing our good disposition, you can think none otherwise; but be assured that if the duke, his master, shall require us as appertaineth, and show the justice of his cause, we shall not fail to have regard to the honour of God, the support of princes, and such respect to the amity and affection we bear and have borne to that family, as they shall have cause to be con-

tented. Therefore, adhorting you him to write unto his master, the duke, thereupon, and to use all celerity convenient, you shall advise him, as of yourself, that he shall also counsel to the said duke, that he shall [make] use of all possible diligence in sending a man unto us; trusting assuredly that he is like, for the reasons before mentioned, to have good answer, and find subvention and support at our hand, if he shall duly require and show his right unto us.

As for those barking preachers, their slanderously defaming us in so *celébre* a place, which ought rather to be called false prophets and sheep-cloaked wolves, we pray you to continue your instant requisition to the emperor and his council, with your objections to their unreasonable answers, as you have done hitherto, much to our contentment and thankful acceptation; alleging unto him that you much marvel, that they proceed none otherwise to stay such false and untrue slanders against us being a king: seeing that, of late, at Paris, where a Grey Friar likewise slandered us, he was constrained to recant, and in plain pulpit to withdraw his words, and to declare that he had belied us and our nation; therefore, he cried God, us, and our nation, mercy; and, that done, yet he was reserved in prison to further punishment.

As for your return hither in March next, we have deferred it until April; by all the which month, another shall arrive in your stead; requiring you to take it in so good and patient part, as at your return we may have for

the same, amongst your other good merits, occasion to thank you heartily, and look upon the same hereafter. Not failing from time to time (as you have of good custom used) diligently to advertise us of all your proceedings, occurrents, and doings there, as well concerning our own matters as others; as of Italy, of the emperor's voyage, and of French practices with him, and of all other things worthy knowledge.

This day is arrived unto us some advertisement from Rome, wherein it was mentioned, that it is commonly spoken at Rome, that the ambassador of England being in Spain, hath made large promises unto the Duke of Urbino's secretary. We cannot think but that, like as they meant by you, so they have, for some purpose, bruited and set forth this rumour abroad for their advantage; and that, although you have put him in some comfort, yet you have not been so large to offer anything unto them, without our advice and pleasure, we trust your fidelity and discretion better than so. Yet, nevertheless, we have thought thereupon to warn you, that you shall beware to speak so large unto them; but with good sobriety and temperature, as we have before written. For, like as doubtless we would be glad to help the truth, and right of princes specially, against that enemy of princes, the bishop of Rome; so should we be loth to incur the name and *renome* of a setter forth, cherisher, and maintainer of dissension and war in Christendom, where we indeed love peace, union, and amity; except only that we fear no such suspicions, where we be

compelled against the enemies of God and ours, and the adversaries-general of princes.

Given under our signet at our palace of Westminster, the 19th of January, the 30th year of our reign.

Henry VIII. to James V. of Scotland.[1]

10th December, 1542.

Right excellent, right high, and mighty prince, our good brother and nephew, we commend us unto you in effectual manner—letting you know that we have received letters of the last of November, whereby you require our safe-conduct for Mr. James Leyrmouth, Sir John Campbell, and others, to repair unto us to declare the verity of the unhappy and cruel murder of Somerset, one of our heralds at arms, done, as your letters purport and specify, by William Leeke and John Prestman, fugitives of England, whom, as you write, you have caused to be put in sure keeping. Nephew, this slaughter is so cruel, so abominable, and so barbarous, as, howsoever other things stand between us, we cannot choose but most heartily wish and desire that it may appear both to us that it hath been committed against your will, and that you do no less detest and abhor it than the importance of the case requireth. But, nephew, where you desire to have this declaration made here by the said

[1] MSS. Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris. I believe the original is in the State Paper Office, but I am not certain, having mislaid the reference to it. That at Paris is only a copy, but it is contemporary and of good authority.

Leyrmouth and others, to the intent punishment might after follow according to the quality of the crime; to that we have thought meet frankly to signify unto you that there can be no such declaration made here as can either satisfy us, whose honour the matter most toucheth, or purge the attempt clearly to the world, which must needs have in it extreme detestation, unless you shall first deliver the persons, whom your said letters declare to have committed the murder, to the hands of our warden, that they may be conveyed hither, and here receive condign punishment for their most cruel and detestable enterprise. For, if you should take the punishment of them yourself, it might not only be thought to us, who hath received the displeasure of it, and is not now, as you know, in the terms of amity with you, but also to the whole world, that to cover the act, whereby it should not appear from whence it had its ground and original, though you show yourself displeased with it; yet having the matter still in your own hand, you might cause other malefactors to be executed in the lieu of the very offenders, and suffer the offenders to escape unpunished, which suspicion were in any wise to be eschewed and avoided. Wherefore, seeing the matter be cleared by any means of a declaration here, but only by the deliverance of the said persons named in your said letters, we have written to our said warden, that if it should like you to deliver them to him or to his deputy's, he shall receive them, and see them conveyed surely unto us. Right excellent, right high, and mighty prince, our good brother and nephew, we beseech God

send you health, and to direct your proceedings to his pleasure.

Given under our signet, at our honour of Hampton Court, the 10th of December, in the thirty-fourth year of our reign.

Henry VIII. to the Earl of Angus.[1] *A.D.* 1543.

Right trusty and well-beloved cousin, we greet you well; and, whereas you with some others the lords our friends in those parts have made request unto us to send forthwith for your relief a main army into Scotland; an answer to some part whereof you shall perceive by the report of our chaplain, Mr. Penver, and Thomas Bishop, the earl of Lennox's secretary;—

We shall desire you, my lord, to consider how good and gracious we have been unto you, even since the beginning of our acquaintance unto this present; and how that you, being bound in honour to serve us loyally in recompense for the same, and having in that behalf made unto us sundry fair promises, nothing the more hath, by your means, hitherto taken effect or commen to any good purpose; the cause whereof not only we, but well near all the rest of our friends and yours have thought to

[1] MSS. in the possession of the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield House. The earl of Angus married Margaret, widow of James IV. of Scotland, and sister to Henry VIII. He was afterwards divorced from her, took refuge in England, and led the English army against James V., by whom, however, he was defeated. After the decease of the last mentioned monarch, he proceeded to Scotland with the professed intention of supporting the interests of Henry.

consist only in that you have suffered yourself to be seduced with fair words and flattery, and slackly passed the things you had in hand, and done them with less care than the importance of the same hath required. For if you had, my lord, followed things by-past earnestly, and like a very [1] man of heart and courage, as we have always esteemed you, taken and prosecuted them in time, and used your enemies when you had them at advantage, as you see now they use you and yours, then had never you been driven to the point you now be at, nor we have had cause to be at such charge, as by your means we have been at, and for your sake and by your device intend to be at this present; in case you and others shall agree to these reasonable things that we require you to do, for the assurance of your good service towards us. And, therefore, my lord, if you esteem your honour and the reputation of your manhood, which we have, of long time, conceived of you, bestir yourself at this present, and play the man; lay apart all fond [2] affections, and suffer not yourself, being a nobleman, and noted a man of courage, to be overcome with delicateness now at this time, specially when that you should show yourself industrious for the preservation of your honour and credit both towards us and all the rest of the world that knoweth you. You have tasted much of our liberality, before you had deserved any; and, if you shall serve us now frankly, and as our goodness in time past doth require, think not but that you shall serve a prince, that hath yet in store much liberality to impart unto you.

[1] True. [2] Foolish.

We write our mind plainly and sincerely, because we love you and tender your honour and reputation, and would be loth you should do anything for lack of good advice or friends' monition, that might impair the same. And therefore we require you to ponder this our friendly advertisement, and to execute the same in such sort, as we may have cause to think it written to some effect; whereof we shall be glad, and also consider the same again towards you, for our part, in such sort as shall appertain, requiring you, as our special trust is in you, to cause us have answer hereof; and also to cause as much expedition to be used for the sending of such persons as shall come to meet with our commissioners at Carlisle, as can possibly be used.

Henry VIII. to the Earl of Arran.[1]

27th of October, 1543.

Sithence[2] the arrival here of this bearer sent from you unto us, while you occupied the place of governor of Scotland there, to be here in place of ambassador from that realm, we have heard that you, author of his message, forgetting your duty to that realm, your honour and estimation to the world, and your private and secret promises unto us, have revolted unto your adverse party,[3]

[1] Sloane MSS. vol. 3199, Art. 88. [2] Since.

[3] Hamilton, Earl of Arran, was governor of Scotland during the minority of Mary of Scots. Henry was determined to make him feel the weight of his resentment for refusing to comply with his wishes. In the following year, the Earl of Hertford entered Scotland at the head of ten

submitted yourself to the government of your enemies, and surrendered the state, which you bear us in hand[1] was given you by parliament; which well appeareth by that, as, when the cardinal, your newly reconciled friend, in the presence of our ambassadors, plainly affirmed in your own hearing, that our covenants, passed with Scotland, were passed by private authority: in which few words, you, holding your peace without any denial, seemed to consent to the same, and suffered yourself not only to be accused of untruth to that realm, and also to us, to send ambassadors in the name of the whole realm. He also therewith did you to understand, that he esteemed for no parliament such convention in Scotland as wherein you were made governor; by which parliament the said ambassadors were also ordained to come to us, and authorized to treat, bargain, and conclude with us. And so finally you have in such wise used and behaved yourself, as such covenants as hath been by your mediation passed by the authority of that whole realm with us, be now infringed and broken. And, if you could then, without contradiction, in a public audience keep silence, whilst you were thus charged and touched, and would, for defence of your doings, say nothing; you must much more be content to hear from us your blame on the other part, and so much the rather, that we spoke to you the truth,—which you

thousand men, and commanded Arran to surrender up the person of the young queen. This was refused, and Arran was afterwards defeated by the English at the battle of Pinkencleugh.

[1] You assure us.

ought to consider, and the cardinal powdered his talk with lies; which you ought to have therein refelled, if truth, if honour, if nobleness had been regarded of you. We have proceeded with you, primely minding the preservation of your young queen, the wealth of that realm, and your own particular benefit and advancement. Upon confidence of your loyalty, we did give ear to such covenants, as else we would have hardly been persuaded unto; which when we see so evidently fail, and that, as you sent this bearer unto us in the time of your well-doing, so by your frailty and inconstancy you have in such wise swerved, as it appeareth you be governed otherwise than were convenient. We esteem and repute, as with fair and with pleasant words you sent this bearer unto us, so with your unseemly deeds you have revoked him. According whereunto as one who is messenger is by you frustrate and disappointed, we have thought good to remit unto you the same, referring unto his declaration of what disposition and inclination we were of, if you had continued according to his credence, and how your doings have altered us, unto whom we doubt not you will give credence.

Given under our signet at our manor of Ampthill, the 27th day of October, the thirty-fifth year of our reign.

Henry VIII. to Lord Wharton.[1] *A.D.* 1544.

Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well; and let you wit, that, considering the being there in those

[1] Talbot Papers, MSS. in the Library of the College of Arms.

parts of the earl of Lennox[1] should much more confer to the advancement of our affairs; than to lie here to no purpose; and, taking occasion at a message lately sent unto him from the earl of Angus, the copy whereof you shall receive here enclosed, we have thought good to address him to Carlisle, to remain there with you upon the borders, and in his company Sir Thomas Holcroft and Thomas Bishop; to the intent he might have the better occasion to practise with the Scots, and either to find the means that we may get the young princess into our hands, or else by conferences and devisings with them, to enter a jealousy in the heads of the governors and others, and so to sow division amongst them; or, at the least, to get intelligence of their doings. He hath a memorial of his proceedings, whereunto and the rest of his dealing, we doubt not but he will (and so he is appointed to) make you privy from time to time, and semblably,[2] to our right trusty and right well-beloved councillor the earl of Shrewsbury, our lieutenant, unto whom also our pleasure is you shall write what you shall hear and know in this behalf: praying you to use the said earl

[1] Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox, had lately placed himself under the king's protection, to whose interests he was now entirely bound by his recent marriage with that prince's niece, Margaret Douglas, daughter of Archibald Earl of Angus by Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. He was sent into Scotland in August, this year, with twelve or fourteen ships, and six hundred men, under the observation, however, of some trusty persons; having in June preceding signed a secret convention with Henry, which may be found in the Fœdera, and which is strongly illustrative of that monarch's designs with regard to Scotland.—*Lodge's Illustrations*, vol. i. p. 94.

[2] In like manner.

for the time of his being there in such sort as to his degree appertaineth. He is a gentle gentleman, wise and of good courage; and we have good hope that he will, for his part, again use himself towards us accordingly.

We have been from time to time advertised from our said lieutenant of your wise and discreet proceedings; assuring you that we will keep them in our remembrance to your comfort accordingly.

Signifying further unto you that our pleasure is that our said servant, Sir Thomas Holcroft, shall be made privy to all things concerning the proceeding either of the said earl or of our said servant Thomas Bishop. Likewise we have appointed them here to do in that behalf.

Henry VIII. to the Lords Maxwell and Fleming.[1]

March 20th, 1544.

Right worthy and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas you with our Scottishmen invading this our realm of England, by way of hostility, with force and power of arms, were taken prisoner to our use by our deputy-warden, and others our subjects upon our west marches of our said realm; and so being yielded and taken, became, and promised to be our true and faithful prisoner, binding yourself thereunto by your faith and honour; and afterward upon your own humble suit and request obtaining license of us to return for a time to that realm

[1] MSS. in the possession of the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield House. See an account of proceedings in Scotland in this year in Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i. p. 166.

of Scotland, you promised us likewise of your faith and honour to return whensoever we would appoint you, setting apart all manner of excuses and exceptions. We therefore, being now your lord and master by law of arms and ancient usage and custom, observed always hitherto inviolably in time of hostility among all noblemen and all other men of honour, do by these presents summon and charge you, being by the said law and ancient custom of arms our just and lawful captive and prisoner to re-enter unto us personally, and to present yourself unto our right-trusty and well-beloved counsellor the lord Wharton, our warden of our marches in the west parts of this our realm foranent Scotland, within twelve days next ensuing the receipt of these our letters, without failing hereof, as you regard God, your faith, and your honour, which remaineth with us until your return; and as you will avoid the vengeance that God of his justice will aid us to take upon you and yours by fire and sword, if you observe not your faith and promise made unto us in this behalf.

Given, &c., 20th March, thirty-fifth of our reign.

Fragment of a Letter from Henry VIII. to his Queen Katharine Parr.[1]

At the closing up of these our letters this day, the castle before-named with the dyke[2] is at our commandment,

[1] MS. Cotton. Cal. E. iv. fol. 56. This letter is greatly damaged by fire.

[2] Ditch. Henry was two months before Boulogne, but it finally surrendered. There is a curious unpublished and contemporary narrative of this siege preserved in the Public Library at Cambridge.

and not like to be recovered by the Frenchmen again, as we trust, not doubting with God's grace but that the castle and town shall shortly follow the same trade, for as this day, which is the 8th day of September, we begin three batteries, and have three mines going, besides one which hath done his execution in shaking and tearing off one of their greatest bulwarks. No more to you at this time, sweetheart, but for lack of time and great occupation of business, saving we pray you to give in our name our hearty blessings to all our children, and recommendations to our cousin Margaret and the rest of the ladies and gentlewomen, and to our council also.

Written with the hand of your loving husband,

HENRY R.

September 8th, 1544.

ADDITIONAL LETTERS.

Edward III. to Thomas De Lucy.[1] *A.D.* 1346.

[The landing of the English army at Harfleur, its progress to Caen, and the subsequent battle at Cressy.]

Edward, by the grace of God, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to his dear and trusty knight Thomas Lucy, greeting. Forasmuch as we know well that you will hear willingly good news from us, we let you to know that we arrived at La Hogue, near Harfleur,[2] the twelfth day of July last past, with all our people whole and safe. Praise to God, therefore, and there we tarried, for the unshipping of our people and horses, and for the victualling of our forces until the Thursday next ensuing; on which day we made a move with our host towards Valonges, and took the castle and town; and afterwards, upon our march, we caused the bridge of Ove to be built, which was destroyed by our enemies, and we passed over it, and took the castle and town of Caren-

[1] This very interesting letter is translated from the Norman French, in an early and curious Manuscript preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, No. 789, fol. 148, containing a collection of historical and other papers made by Thomas Beckington, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

[2] The work of destruction commenced very soon after the king's landing, while the fleet burnt or destroyed all the vessels in the different harbours. A very ample account will be found in Froissart.

an; and from thence we kept the right-hand road towards the town of Saint Lo, and found the Bridge Herbert broken, in order to interrupt our progress, and we caused it forthwith to be rebuilt, and next day took the town; and we directed our steps straightway to Caen, without one day's resting from the time that we set out from La Hogue, until our arrival there; and forthwith, upon getting into quarters at Caen,[1] our people began to give assault to the town, which was much fortified and crammed with men-at-arms, about one thousand and six hundred, and with common arms and defensible souls, three thousand, who defended themselves very stoutly and openly, so that the *melée* was very violent and lasting; but, thanks be to God! the town was taken by storm at last, and this without loss of many of our people; and there were taken the Comte d'Ewe, constable of France, the chamberlain Tankerville, who was on that day proclaimed Marshal of France, and other bannerets and knights, about one hundred and forty, and also of squires and rich burgesses a great abundance; and there died outright of noble knights and gentlemen and common people a great number.

And our navy, which tarried near us, has burnt and destroyed all the coast of the sea of Harfleur, even as far as the Fosse of Colville, near Caen; and also they have burnt the town of Cherbourgh and the ships in the haven, and there are burnt great ships and other vessels by our people, a hundred or more; and afterwards

[1] Caen is described by Froissart as a "great town, full of drapery, and other merchandise, rich burgesses," &c.

we tarried four days at Caen,[1] in order to victual and refresh our host; and from thence, because we were certified that our adversary was come to Rouen, we took our road straightway towards him; and, as soon as he knew it, he caused the bridge of Rouen to be broken, that we might not pass over; and, at the same time, there met us two cardinals at the city of Lyseux, and endeavoured to detain us, under pretence of a treaty, so as to impede us in our journey; but we answered them briefly, that we would take up no time in such a matter, but whenever reason was offered to us, we would make a suitable answer; and, when we were informed that the said bridge of Rouen was broken, we took up quarters on the bank towards Paris de Seine, very near the said town, and so we held our march onward upon the said bank, and found all the bridges broken, or fortified and defended, so as we could in no wise pass over towards our said adversary; and he who gazed on us from day to day from the other side of the water was unwilling to approach us, by which he annoyed us much; and when we came to Poissy, near Paris, we found the bridge broken; and, whereas our said adversary was planted with all his host and power in the city of Paris, and caused the bridge of Saint Olo to be thrown down, that we were not able to pass over to Paris from that side where we were, therefore we tarried at Poissy three days, as well to wait for our said adversary in case he was

[1] Minot, a very early poet, incorrectly asserts that Caen was fired by the English,

> And, at the last, forgat thai noght,
> The toun of Cane thai sett on fire.

willing to give us battle, as to rebuild the said bridge; and meanwhile, as the said bridge was a-repairing, there came a great power of the enemy from the other side of the water, to disturb the repairing of the said bridge; but, before it was made again, some of our people passed it by means of a plank, and discomfited them, and slew a great number; and, when we saw our enemies would not come to give us battle, we caused the country round about to be burned and ravaged; and whenever our people had to do with the enemy, every time they had the victory—praise be to God for it! And we passed the bridge with our host; and, in order the better to draw our enemy to battle, we turned our course towards Picardy, where our people had many glorious fights with the enemy; and, when we came to the river of Somme,[1] we found the bridges broken; wherefore we diverted our march towards Saint Valery, in order to pass at a ford, where the sea flows and ebbs. And, when we came thither, a great number of men-at-arms and common soldiers came to encounter us, in order to defend the passage; but we instantly took the passage over them by force, and, with the grace of God, there passed a thousand persons across, where, before this, with difficulty three or four were wont to pass; so that we and all our host passed safely; and, in one hour, our enemies were discomfited and many taken, and there was a great number slain, without loss to our people; and the very day, soon after that we were passed the water, there showed himself

[1] "The which was large and deep, and all bridges were broken, and the passages well kept."—FROISSART.

on the other side, our said adversary, with a great power so suddenly that *nous nescoms de rien garner*, wherefore we remained there; and taking our post, and waiting all the day, and the next day, till the time of evening; and at last, when we saw that he would not pass that way, but turned towards Abbeville, we drew off towards Cresсy, in order to meet him on the other side of the forest; and on Saturday, the 26th day of August, at our coming to Cresсy, our enemy showed himself very near us, about the hour of three, with a great number of people, for he had more than twelve thousand men-at-arms, of which eight thousand were gentlemen, knights, and squires; and presently we made our battle-array, and so waited on foot till a little before the time of vespers, when the combatants assembled in open field; and the battle was very stout, and of long duration, for it lasted from before vespers till the evening, and the enemy behaved themselves right nobly, and very often they rallied; but, praises be to God for it! they were discomfited, and our adversary betook him to flight; and there were slain the king of Beame (Bohemia), the king of Maylocre (Minorca), the duke of Lorraine, the archbishop of Jaunx, the bishop of Noron, the high prior of the Hospital of France, the abbé de Corbell, the count of Alounzone (Alençon), the earl of Flanders, the count of Blois, the count of Harcourt and his son, the count of Saumes, the count Danser, the count of Mutbiliart, &c., and several other earls and barons, and other great lords, of whom one cannot know the number yet; and there died in one small spot, where the first encounter

was, one thousand and five hundred knights and squires, besides a vast amount of others also, who died afterwards in all parts of the field. And, after the rout, we tarried there all night, enjoying good eating and drinking; and next morning was the chace begun, in which were slain four thousand men, as well men-at-arms as gentlemen and others;[1] and our said adversary, after the rout, drew off towards Amyas (Amiens), where he caused to be slain a great number of his generals, and said they betrayed him at his hour of need. And people say that he has assembled his force anew, to give us battle a second time; and so we trust in God, that He will continue towards us His grace, as He has done hitherto. And so we have now drawn towards the sea-side, in order to be succoured from England, as well with men-at-arms as with artillery, and other necessary things, for the toil we have had has been very long and continual. But, at all events, we do not mean to depart from the realm of France, until we have made an end of our war with God's help.

Given under our privy seal, before Calais, 3rd day of September, the year of our reign over England the twentieth, &c.

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[1] There is another account of the battle in a letter addressed by the king to the archbishop of York, printed in the "Retrospective Review," New Series, vol. i., p. 120, which, as is necessarily the case in relating the events of a battle, has many variations, but no contradiction, from the letter here given: which, besides, is far more ample, animated, and circumstantial, than that to the archbishop. Those who are curious for further details of the above glorious and memorable event, may consult Froissart's Chronicles, Northbury, &c., and Barnes's Life of Edward III.

Edward, the Black Prince, to the Bishop of Worcester, and others, giving an account of the Battle of Poictiers. A.D. 1356.[1]

Reverend father-in-God, and very dear friends, we thank you entirely, in that we have heard that you are so well and kindly disposed towards us, by praying to God for us and our expedition; and we are quite certain that, by reason of your devout prayers, and those of others, God hath in all our needs lent us his aid, for which we are bound all our days to thank Him; while we pray that, on your part, ye will be pleased to continue to do towards us as you have done heretofore, for which we hold ourselves greatly indebted to you.

And, reverend father, as regards our state, of which we know well that you desire, thanks to you, to hear good news, be pleased to understand that, at the writing hereof, we were well and hearty, and all in good condition. Praise be to God for it! who hath given it, and the same may we hear and understand of all of you! And as you wish to be certified, by letters and comers between, of credited news, we will you to know, that on the eve of the translation of Saint Thomas of Canterbury we began to advance with our force towards the parts of France, because that we heard of the coming of our right honoured lord and father thitherward, and so we proceeded into the parts of Burges in Berg, Orleans, and

[1] This highly curious document is copied from the original register of Reginald Beron, (or Briene) bishop of Worcester, written in French, preserved in the Registrar's Office of the Diocese of Worcester. The volume is nearly contemporary, and of infinite value.

Tours; and we heard news, that the king of France, with great force very near to those quarters, was coming, in order to battle with us; and we approached each other, so that the battle took place between us in such manner that the enemy were discomfited—thanks be to God for it!—and the said king and his son, and many others, grandees, were taken or killed: the names of whom we send by our very dear young squire,[1] Monsieur Roger de Cottesford, bearer of this.[2]

"Reverend father-in-God, and our very dear friend, may the Holy Spirit have you for ever in his keeping!

Given under our seal at Bordeaux, the 20th of October, 1356.

[1] *Bachiler*, young knight.

[2] That letter was delivered to Lord Reginald de Briene, bishop of Worcester, at Alvechurch, 1st of December, in the year 1356, with a list, containing the names of the captured and dead in the said war, the tenour of which list follows. "These are the names of those taken at the battle of Poictiers by the prince of Wales, son to the noble king of England, Edward III.:—John de Valois, king of France; monsieur Philip, his son; archbishop of Seguz; monsieur Jacques de Bourbon, count of Ponthia, &c. [Here follow the names of ten counts, four viscounts, twenty-three bannerets, and three bachelors.] And besides these, there were taken of men-at-arms one thousand nine hundred and thirty-three. *Gaudete in Domino semper!* (Rejoice in the Lord alway.) The names of those killed at the battle:—the duke of Bourbon, the duke d'Atermes, &c.; and besides the names of many other nobles [as given in the list], there died of the men at arms two thousand four hundred and twenty-six. *Iterum dico, gaudete!* (Again, I say, rejoice!)"

END OF VOL. I.

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